INSTRUCTIONS

FOR THE

TREATMENT

OF

NEGROES,

&c. &c. &c.

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INTRODUCTION.

A LOVE of liberty naturally diſpoſes men to contemplate with abhorrence a ſtate of ſlavery: it inclines them to ſuppoſe that oppreſſion is inſeparable from ſuch ſervitude. It is with the hope of relieving the anxiety, which ſome late publications have raiſed in the minds of the benevolent for the ſufferings of a numerous claſs of our fellow creatures, that I yield to the requeſt of my friends to publiſh the little ſyſtem of regulations, by which thoſe people are governed and treated, whoſe lot it has been to be placed under my immediate care and protection. They are not drawn up to be oppoſed to

the aſſertions of thoſe, who have written upon the treatment of ſlaves in the ſugar colonies; but are contained in a ſeries of letters, written in the courſe of a correſpondence which began more than twenty years ago, and were thrown into ſome form a long time before this matter became a ſubject of controverſy.—So many Gentlemen, who hold property in Barbadoes, pay the ſame attention to their people, that I muſt diſclaim the merit of being ſingular in the care and treatment of ſlaves. If particular inſtances of ſeverity or neglect can be quoted, they will only prove, that in that country as in every other, all men are not equally good and wiſe.

The unhappy African, "torn from "his native country and his deareſt "connections, and ſold as a ſlave to "ſome relentleſs tyrant in a Britiſh "colony" is a mournful tale that has been told with every circumſtance of aggravation that could move compaſſion on

on or excite indignation. If it would avail, I could breathe ſigh for ſigh with thoſe, who mourn moſt deeply over the ſad lot of this ill fated people. We may be allowed to indulge our concern and expreſs our diſpleaſure at practices, which offend our reaſon and our feelings. But ſurely it is not conſiſtent with decency, with candour, or any rule of equal juſtice to involve in one general cenſure the planters in all the colonies, and preſent them to the world as objects of deteſtation. Let me recommend it to the advocates for the freedom and converſion of ſlaves to employ, in this laudable exerciſe of their charity and benevolence, the mildneſs of perſuaſion rather than the violence of invective. In order to ſhew that an African ſold as a ſlave *is not* " an object unpitied and deſpiſed " at Barbadoes; — that he *is not* " treated " with unfeeling wantonneſs :"—that maſters of ſlaves *are not* " relentleſs ty- " rants, who trifle with their feelings

" and ſmile at their miſeries, " — the following inſtructions for the treatment of newly purchaſed African as well as native ſlaves, given many years ago to the valuable friend, who was then the manager* of Spring-Head plantation are now ſubmitted to the publick.

* Mr. Jacob Lewis.

INSTRUCTIONS

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OF NEWLY PURCHASED

AFRICAN SLAVES.

To the Manager of Spring-Head Plantation.*

ALTHOUGH I ſincerely lament the exiſtence of the SLAVE-TRADE, I feel no repugnance in availing myſelf of the means it affords me of ſupplying by purchaſe the number of Negores requiſite for the management of my Plantations. The practice and the principle are not irreconcileable. While the Trade is allowed to be carried on, under the ſanction of the ſame authority, which firſt eſtabliſhed it, I feel relieved from reproach

 by

Note. The ſubſtance of theſe inſtructions was contained in a letter written in the Year 1771.

* MR. FRANCIS S. BAILEY.

by the reflection, that the people I may purchaſe will be at leaſt as comfortable under my care as they would be in the poſſeſſion of any other purchaſer: and that the purchaſe will be made to aſſiſt and eaſe their fellow labourers in the work of the Plantation. I therefore hold myſelf at liberty to direct ſuch occaſional purchaſes of Slaves as may be neceſſary to compleat and keep up the complement required for the perfect and eaſy management of that property, which I hold by inheritance.

But before any African Slaves are purchaſed, I deſire that a proper houſe be prepared to lodge them. In this houſe there ſhould be two principal apartments: one for the Males, the other for the Females.—The ſize of the apartment ought to be proportioned to the number of the lodgers. A building forty feet long and twelve feet wide would conveniently lodge twenty-four people; al-

allowing two feet to each perſon. Perhaps the ſituation of the ground or other circumſtances may make it proper to erect ſeparate houſes, inſtead of one building with two apartments.—An attention to cleanlineſs and a free circulation of air ſhould direct you in the conſtruction of the houſe. Boarded floors abſorb and retain wet. It is difficult to keep them clean: I therefore recommend the floor to be plaiſtered with mortar made of the fineſt and firmeſt matetials. This is a work that requires ſkill and attention in the perſon, who executes it. The platform, on which the Negroes are to lodge, ſhould be ſix feet long, and about two feet from the floor. The boards ſhould be grooved, and ſlightly pinned together, ſo that they may be occaſionally removed to be aired and cleaned.

The man, who ſeriouſly contemplates the African, when he firſt arrives at the plantation, on which chance

has thrown him, muſt be unfeeling indeed, if he does not feel the diſtreſs, which his anxious mind muſt ſuffer under doubt and uncertainty what his fate may be. To relieve him from thoſe apprehenſions, which his new ſituation may excite, it ſhould be the buſineſs of the firſt day to explain to him by an interpreter what is the condition of a Slave—what will be required of him—how he will be treated,—and how much his happineſs depends upon his own behaviour. To ſecure the advantage of ſuch communication, I direct that you never purchaſe a Negro of any country, of which you have not ſome perſon on the eſtate, who can ſpeak his language. It is important that early impreſſions ſhould be favourable. I therefore recommend it to you to make the firſt two or three days, after the arrival of a lot of Negroes at the plantation, as pleaſant to them as you can. The curioſity of a ſtranger, even at a tender age, is excited by objects, which preſent

preſent themſelves to him in a new country. In ſatisfying that curioſity you are te endeavour, throuh the interpreter and by your own attention to him, to allay apprehenſions and encourage hope. A ſhake of the hand, and a ſmile upon the countenance will convey kind ſentiments as forcibly as the moſt courtly language. This benignity of treatment, a comfortable lodging, and a plentiful meal of good food will not fail to impreſs him with the ſentiment, that he is an object of care and regard. The buſineſs of a plantation is various. To point out and explain to him the daily variety, which preſents itſelf in the courſe of management, will amuſe his mind, and reconcile and prepare him to perform the duties of that ſtate of life, to which it has pleaſed God to call him.

Though it may be proper to allow ſome little time to newly purchaſed Slaves for repoſe and obſervation, the

indulgence ought not to be extended beyond the third day. You are then to furniſh them with the neceſſary implements and either to incorporate them with the plantation Negroes, according to their ſizes, or work them in a ſeparate gang, as your judgment may direct you. It behoves you to be very careful in the choice you make of a perſon to ſuperintend and inſtruct them. The perſon, to whoſe care you commit them, ſhould be made to underſtand that they are required to work in the field only that they might not be idle at home.

It is impoſſible to enter into a detail of all the circumſtances, or decide all the caſes that muſt occur in ſeaſoning a lot of new Negroes. Much muſt be left to the diſcretion of the manager. For the preſent I ſhall only give ſome plain directions which, though obvious, are neceſſary to be given, becauſe they are ſometimes neglected.—Early riſing

riſing is eſſential to health and to buſi-neſs. The new people muſt be requir-ed to riſe immediately after the ap-pearance of day-light. Their hands and faces ſhould be thoroughly waſhed and cleaned, not ſlightly wetted mere-ly to comply with the letter of this di-rection. Their breakfaſts ſhould be ſer-ved to them as early as poſſible: I re-commend that they ſhould not be ſent into the field before they have break-faſted, for the firſt three or four months after the purchaſe of them; unleſs it be on the days of making Sugar. A ſmall draught of the hot liquor, or of the raw cane juice, early in the morning is wholeſome; and if the weather be fine they may do the eaſy work of the Mill-yard, in the cool of the morning, with ſafety to their health. Their breakfaſt ſhould be corn-gruel, rice, caſſada, flour-pap, or biſcuit with tea made of ginger, ſage or mint. When brown biſcuit cannot be purchaſed at a reaſon-able price, biſcuits made with corn flour

finely prepared will anſwer, as a good ſubſtitute. I conceive indeed, that the corn biſcuit, with a ſmall proportion of moiſt brown ſugar and a little ginger, would be even preferable. Thoſe excellent roots and vegetables, which the plantation may produce through the year, will alſo furniſh a conſtant and wholeſome variety. But when the manager directs them to be given as a breakfaſt, he ſhould be attentive *that they be prepared the preceding Evening*. If the whole buſineſs of the preparation and the dreſſing be delayed until the next morning, the breakfaſt will be ill done, or it will be late. That it may be well done and ſerved in time, a ſufficient number of people ſhould be allotted to this buſineſs. From the time when the breakfaſt is finiſhed to eleven o'clock, they ſhould be employed about light field work. Here you muſt allow me to preſs it upon you, that for half a year, perhaps for the whole of the firſt year, after a lot of Negroes has been

been purchaſed, the quantum or value of their labour ought not to be made an object. They ſhould be required to work, rather to be taught what is the uſage and practice of the country than to perform profitable labour. Negroes from many parts of Africa are quick in their diſcernment. They will ſoon diſtinguiſh this indulgence, ſhewn to their new ſituation, from the general treatment of plantation Slaves. This indulgence, neceſſary for the preſervation of their perſons, will create ſatisfaction to their minds. It is my earneſt deſire that from eleven to three o'clock, they may not do any work that will expoſe them to the ſun. I enjoin this, becauſe I know its effects upon the human frame when much expoſed to its influence.

Their dinners muſt neceſſarily be ſuch food as the country affords. I muſt here require your attention to and obſervance of the following direction viz.

allow ſuch a quantity of Victuals for them at this meal as ſhall be MORE THAN SUFFICIENT. When the dinner is ready, let them be ranged in a line, according to their ſizes. After a Negro has eaten what was firſt ſerved to him, let him be ſupplied a ſecond and a third time, until his appetite is fully ſatisfied. When they have all eaten thus plentifully give each Negro ſome grog, according to his ſize. I preſs your attention to this direction, in order to excite others to the adoption of it: For I have ſometimes ſeen an ill judged parſimony reſtrain even the hand of benevolence. Strange inconſiſtency! If humanity did not dictate ſuch plentiful allowance to people, who have no reſource but in their maſter's bounty and juſtice, one would imagine that ſelf intereſt, upon reflection, would ſuggeſt the advantage of it to the miſtaken man, who thinks he purſues the profitable ſyſtem in the miſerable ſaving. As humanity and juſtice, my intereſt

and

and your credit all combine to require your compliance with this inſtruction, you muſt allow me to repeat this injunction TO HAVE SUCH A PLENTY OF VICTUALS EVERY DAY PROVIDED FOR NEW NEGROES AT DINNER, THAT SOME PART OF IT MAY REMAIN, AFTER THEY HAVE BEEN FULLY SATISFIED. You will be ſure to find people thankful for the remains.

I cannot content myſelf with directing a PLENTY to be provided. I know how much the quality of food may be improved by the manner of preparing it. The art of dreſſing and cooking the rich variety of roots and vegetables, which nature furniſhes in warm climates, is worthy to be known by all thoſe, who think the poor claſs of their fellow creatures objects of their care. You will find the importance of it fully explained in the third number of Count Rumford's eſſay on food. I recommend the book to you for inſtruction, and

the author as an example.—Though the Lieutenant General does not perform the office of a cook, he can lay aſide his Ribbon and Star, thoſe marks of diſtinction which his merit has procured him, to ſuperintend in the kitchen the proceſs of his experiments. What his talents ſuggeſt his humanity condeſcends to execute. In that excellent eſſay the valuable qualities of the Indian corn, and the various methods of preparing it for food, are minutely deſcribed. You will there ſee that the Italian Nobleman eats it in Polenta, the American Gentleman in a Pudding, and the humble ſlave in Cucoe. The ſubſtance is the ſame under the various names, which an elegant or a coarſe preparation gives it. This uſeful Philoſopher, conſcious that nothing is mean or trifling, which promotes the good or contributes to the comfort of his fellow creatures, enquires, examines, and diſcovers how the pooreſt claſs may be ſubſiſted at the leaſt ex-

pence

pence: He has condeſcended to inform the publick how to convert the moſt common articles of nutrition into a cheap and wholeſome ſoup.—All that he has ſaid in this eſſay is ſo applicable to the maintenanee of ſlaves, that one might ſuppoſe he was writing rather for the black Inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies than for the poor of Bavaria or of England. It is but changing the names of *Polenta* and *Soup* for *Cucoe* and *Sauce*, and the inſtruction ſtands equally directed to the manager of a Plantation in Barbadoes, or the overſeers of the poor in England or Italy.

SUCH leſſons from SUCH a preceptor, I truſt, will not be loſt upon the people of Barbadoes. If any thing was wanting to ſatisfy the gentry of that country, that the ſubject is worthy their attention, the report of the Board of Agriculture upon the *beſt manner of boiling potatoes* will ſhew that *They* think every

every thing important that is uſeful. The noble and eminent perſons, who compoſe that board think no ſubject too humble for inveſtigation which tends "to increaſe the comforts and inno-"cent enjoyment of that numerous "and uſeful claſs of mankind who "earn their bread by the ſweat of "their brow."

COUNT RUMFORD with all the deference due to this reſpectable body of men does not implicitly adopt their directions for boiling potatoes, upon the ſole authority of the board, great as that authority is:—But he tells the publick, "*I can recommend them upon my* "*own experience.*" His experience was acquired in the kitchen by ſuperintending IN HIS OWN PERSON the proceſs of boiling potatoes. I have dwelt the longer upon this part of the ſubject to ſhew you and my countrymen of every rank, that no man's delicacy or dignity

nity can be offended in the acquirement or in the practice of uſeful knowledge.

As it is the duty of planters to provide the plenty of food recommended for every ſlave, it becomes an object of importance to him to obtain that plenty at the ſmalleſt expence. Every article of food for the ſupport of ſlaves, whether provided by purchaſe or produced by labour, comes into his ſtore at ſo high a price, that the means of uſing them with œconomy and advantage ſhould be ſtudied and adopted. Happily for the maſter and the ſlave Count Rumford's experiments ſhew how wholeſome and nutritious diet may be obtained from common materials by the art of cooking them. The art muſt be obtained by experience and attention. No man will preſume to think lightly of it, after he has read what this inquiſitive philoſopher has written upon the ſubject. As his eſſay on food

is

is only a part of his late publications, I fear it will not be diſperſed, ſeparately, among the Sugar colonies to the extent it deſerves. I will therefore ſubjoin to theſe inſtructions a few extracts from this valuable work. In page 195, He ſays, " The quality of ſoup depends " more upon a proper choice of the in- " gredients and a proper management " of the fire than upon the quantity of " ſolid nutritious matter employed, " much more upon the art and ſkill of " the cook, than upon the ſums laid " out in the market. But what ſur- " priſed me not a little was, the diſco- " very of the very ſmall quantity of " ſolid food which *when properly prepar-* " *ed*, will ſuffice to ſatisfy hunger, " and ſupport life and health; and the " very trifling expence at which the " ſtouteſt and moſt laborious man may, " in any country be fed. "

" After an experience of more than " five years in feeding the poor at Mu-

nich

" nich, during which time every expe-
" riment was made that could be de-
" viſed, not only with regard to the
" choice of the articles uſed for food,
" but alſo in reſpect to their different
" combinations and proportions; and
" to the various ways in which they
" could be prepared and cooked; it
" was found that the cheapeſt, moſt
" ſavoury, moſt nouriſhing food that
" could be provided was a ſoup com-
" poſed of barley, peas, potatoes, cut-
" tings of fine wheaten bread, vinegar,
" ſalt, and water in certain portions.

" The method of preparing this ſoup
" is as follows. The water and the
" barley are firſt put together in the
" boiler and made to boil; the peas
" are then added and the boiling is
" continued over a gentle fire about
" two hours; the potatoes are then
" added, (having been previouſly peel-
"ed with a knife) or having been boil-
" ed, that their ſkins might be more
eaſily

" eaſily taken off; and the boiling is
" continued for about one hour more;
" during which time, the contents of
" the boiler are frequently ſtirred about
" with a wooden ladle, in order to de-
" ſtroy the texture of the potatoes,
" and to reduce the ſoup to one uni-
" form maſs. When this is done, the
" vinegar and ſalt are added; and
" laſt of all, at the moment it is to be
" ſerved up, the cuttings of bread.
" The ſoup ſhould never be ſuffered
" to boil after the cuttings of bread are
" put to it. It is of more importance
" than can well be imagined, that this
" bread, which is mixed with the
" ſoup ſhould not be boiled. It is like-
" wiſe of uſe that it ſhould be cut as
" fine or thin as poſſible." It may be uteful information, and you may depend upon the accuracy of the experiment, that the portion of this ſoup (the cuttings of bread included) furniſhed to each perſon, at each meal, meaſuring

meaſuring one pint and a quarter, and weighing leſs than twenty ounces, does not contain quite ſix ounces of ſolid food.

After ſhewing very ſatisfactorily that the food of man and beaſt may be improved by the culinary art, he adds page 203 " Theſe facts ſeem evident-
" ly to ſhew, that there is ſome impor-
" tant ſecret with regard to nutrition,
" which has not been properly inveſti-
" gated; and that it ſeems to be more
" than probable, that the number of
" inhabitants, who may be ſupported
" in any country, upon its internal
" produce, depends almoſt as much
" upon the ſtate of the art of *Cookery* as
" upon that of *Agriculture*.—The Chi-
" neſe, perhaps, underſtand both theſe
" arts better than any other nation.—
" Savages underſtand neither of them.
" But if cookery be of ſo much impor-
" tance, *it certainly deſerves to be ſtudied*
" *with the greateſt care*; and it ought to

" be particularly attended to in times " of general alarm, on account of a " ſcarcity of proviſions; for the relief, " which may in ſuch caſes be derived " from it, is immediate and effectual, " while all other reſcources are diſtant " and uncertain. "

One might really ſuppoſe that Count Rumford was writing to guard the people of Barbadoes againſt the danger, to which they expoſe themſelves by their reliance on foreign ſupplies. In another place he ſays " The management " of the fire in cooking is, in all caſes, " a matter of great importance; but " in no caſe it is ſo neceſſary to be at- " tended to as in preparing the cheap " and nutrive ſoups here recommend- " ed. Not only the palatableneſs, but " even the ſtrength or richneſs of the " ſoup ſeems to depend very much " upon the management of the heat " employed in cooking it.—

The

The remark moſt worthy your notice is that, " From the begining of the " proceſs to the end of it, the boiling " ſhould be as gentle as poſſible; and " if it were poſſible, to keep the ſoup " always juſt boiling-hot, without ac- " tually boiling, it would be ſo much " the better— Cauſing any thing to " boil violently in any culinary proceſs " is very ill judged; for it not only " does not expedite, even in the ſmall- " eſt degree, the proceſs of cooking; " but it occaſions a moſt enormous " waſte of fuel; and by the driving " away, with the ſteam, many of the " more volatile and more ſavoury par- " ticles of the ingredients, renders the " victuals leſs good and leſs palatable. " This is evident to thoſe, who are ac- " quainted with the experimental phi- " loſophy of heat, and who know that " that water once brought to be boil- " ing-hot, however gently it may boil " in fact, cannot be made any hotter, " however large the fire under it may

" be made. " How much the nature of ſubſtances may be altered and improved, how they may be fitted for the nouriſhment of man, by a ſkilful management of them will appear from the following account given of the manner of preparing the ſoup for the poor at Munich.— Before the introduction of potatoes, as food, in the houſe of induſtry in that City the ſoup was made according to the following direction.

	lb.	oz.
Barley - - - - - - - - -	141	2
Peas - - - - - - - - -	131	4
Cuttings of bread - - -	69	10
Salt - - - - - - - - -	19	13
Vinegar twenty-four quarts -	46	13
Water 560 quarts - - -	1077	0
	1485	10

The employing potatoes as an ingredient in the ſoup afterwards enabled the Count to make a conſiderable ſaving

ing in the other more coſtly materials, as may be ſeen by comparing the following receipt with that already given.

	lb.	oz.
Barley - - - - - - -	70	13
Peas - - - - - - - -	65	10
Potatoes - - - - - - -	230	8
Cuttings of bread - - -	69	10
Salt - - - - - - - -	19	13
Vinegar - - - - - - -	46	13
Water - - - - - - -	982	15
	1485	10

Poor ſubſiſtance even for the poor of Munich—certainly too poor and inſufficient, it will be ſaid, to enable any man to endure fatigue and labour.

That you may form a perfect judgment what food is ſufficient to give that force and vigor to the body, which is neceſſary to enable a man to perform

the laborious duties of a ſoldier, I will give you a bill of fare for the dinner of a meſs conſiſting of twelve perſons.

The Bill of fare was

Boiled beef, with ſoup made by the following receipt, and dumplins.

	lb.	oz.	wt.
Beef - - - - - -	2	8	0
Sweet herbs - - - -	0	1	0
Pepper - - - - - - -	0	0	6
Salt - - - - - - - -	0	2	10
Bread cuttings - - -	2	0	0
Water - - - - - -	12	0	0
	16	11	16

" All theſe articles were put together " in an earthen pot and boiled two " hours and a quarter—This maſs di- " vided into twelve portions gave to " each ſoldier one pound and three " ounces of ſoup and about three ounces " of meat. "

The

The bread dumplins given with the ſoup were thus compounded.

	lb.	oz.	wt.
Bread - - - - - -	1	12	0
Fine flour - - - - -	1	4	0
Salt - - - - - - -	0	3	15
Water - - - - - -	3	12	0
	6	15	15

" This maſs was made into dumplins,
" and theſe dumplins were boiled half
" an hour in clear water. The dumplins
" were ſerved with the meat and ſoup
" all at once in the ſame diſh, and were
" all eaten together. At this meal, which
" was their dinner, each perſon was
" ſerved with ſix ounces and a quarter
" of rye bread. Each perſon had been
" ſerved with the ſame quantity of rye
" bread in the morning for his break-
" faſt: was again ſerved with that quan-
" tity at four o' clock in the afternoon,
" and with another piece of the ſame
" weight in the evening."

To

To make this matter perfectly intelligible Count Rumford has given an Analyſis of one days fare, which ſhews how much of each ingredient each perſon received that day for his allowance.

ANALYSIS.

	lb.	oz.	wt.
Dry ammunition bread	1	9	0
Ammuniton bread cooked in the ſoup - - - -	0	2	8
Fine wheaten bread in dumplins - - - - -	0	2	7
Fine flour in dumplins	0	1	14
Boiled beef - - - - -	0	3	2
Fine herbs ſalt and pepper	0	0	9
Total ſolids - -	2	3	0
Water prepared by cooking in ſoup and dumplins	1	3	0
	3	6	0
Total weight of the ſolids and fluids in each portion allowed for a Soldier per day at Munich	3	6	0

This

This allowance of food to a ſoldier is ſo much leſs than the allowance to ſlaves at Barbadoes, that I imagine the preſent account will naturally excite your curioſity to know what is the real ſtate and condition of the poor in the work-houſe, and the ſoldier upon duty, at Munich. Count Rumford ſays to thoſe who may ſuppoſe that the poor muſt be ſtarved upon ſo ſlender an allowance "The healthy countenances of "the poor, and the air of placid con-"tentment, which accompanies them, "as well in the dining-hall as in their "working-rooms, affords at the ſame "time the moſt intereſting and the moſt "ſatisfactory proof poſſible, that this is "not the caſe.—" Of the ſoldier, who upon this occaſion, is more the ſubject of ſurpriſe and enquiry he ſays, "The pay which the ſoldier receives "in money is one penny three far-"things ſterling: his daily allowance "in bread is valued at one penny—

which

"which make two pence three far-
"things a day for the ſum total of his
"allowance."

"That it is poſſible in any country
"to procure food ſufficient to ſupport
"life with ſo ſmall a ſum, will doubt-
"leſs appear extraordinary to an En-
"gliſh reader: but what would be his
"ſurpriſe to ſee a whole army com-
"poſed of the *fineſt*, *ſtouteſt*, *ſtrongeſt* men
"in the world, who are fed upon that
"allowance, and whoſe countenances
"ſhew the moſt evident marks of rud-
"dy health, and perfect contentment."

I cannot offer the teſtimony of others in confirmation of what Count Rumford has aſſerted in his eſſay on food without making the apology that is due to him for not reſting his account upon his own authority. But as the preſent communications of his experiments and of his merits is made to a country where characters are not al-

ways

ways ſufficiently known to be juſtly appreciated, I truſt he will pardon me, if I add for the ſatisfaction of the people of Barbadoes, that the ſucceſs of his experiments, and the utility of his plans have been repeatedly confirmed to me by gentlemen of the higheſt reſpectability and veracity, who have had opportunities of enquiry and *inſpection* at Munich.

When it is uderſtood, as I hope this little work will explain, that the quality of the food uſually provided for Negroes may be conſiderably improved by the manner of its being cooked, I flatter myſelf that thoſe, to whom the care of negroes is entruſted, will feel it to be their duty to underſtand the ſubject, and to inſtruct and ſuperintend the cook. The perſon appointed to that office ſhould be intelligent, attentive and able to perform the labour of it. He ſhould be taught that the art of improving victuals by cookery conſiſts

ſiſts chiefly in dreſſing them over a conſtant, gentle, and regular fire. An aſſiſtant ſhould be allowed him to attend the fire with an order never to quit his poſt; for the degree of it ſhould be *regular* as well as *gentle*, ſtrong enough to keep the ſoup in a ſtate of conſtant ſimmering, but not ſo great as to throw it into a ſtate of boiling. A ſufficient ſupply of fuel ſhould be provided for the cook. If the pot-gang be numerous, and the proceſs carried on with the diligence and attention, which the importance of the buſineſs demands, his time will be ſo fully employed, that he will not have leiſure to collect any for the kitchen. The afternoon of every day ſhould be devoted to cleaning the kitchen and the utenſils, the bowls and the diſhes; and to the preparation of the breakfaſt and the dinner for the ſucceeding day. This ſyſtem of regularity and method is eſſentially neceſſary, not only for ſeaſoning the African, but for raiſing the native ſlave. The labour required to

do

do all that is here recommended may appear conſiderable, becauſe it will be found to be much more than the preſent uſage and practice allow for this purpoſe: but he is a bad calculator of the value of labour, who withholds what is neceſſary to provide ſalutary food for his ſlaves at a cheap rate.

I am aware that this Munich ſoup, though wholeſome and nutritious, will not be reliſhed by negroes, accuſtomed to more palatable food; but inaſmuch as ſuch a ſoup contains aliment ſufficient to give health and vigor to man, it ought to ſatisfy the planter that by a ſkillful management of thoſe various roots and vegetables, which a plantation may furniſh through every ſeaſon of the year, the poor and the ſlaves at Barbadoes may be plentifully ſupported at an eaſy expence.—

The great variety of articles good for food, cannot and need not be all

 compriſed

compriſed in the ſame meſs. They muſt be ſelected and proportioned according to every man's taſte and judgment.—As ſoup is the moſt profitable form, in which the valuable productions of the iſland can be uſed, I will propoſe a receipt for making one, in order to ſhew what degree of ſtrength or richneſs, I conceive ſhould be given to a ſoup or pottage for Negroes.

The baſis of the ſoup for the poor at Munich was water, prepared and thickened by barley; which it is ſaid is well calculated to receive and convey to the palate in an agreable manner every thing that is ſavoury in the other ingredients. As barley has not been introduced into common uſe at Barbadoes, I recommend as a good ſubſtitute a flour made of corn and oats in the following manner and proportion.

Mix three buſhels of corn with one

of

of oats; grind them together, and ſift the meal through a fine ſieve.

Having obtained this ſort of flour, mix four pints of it in ſixteen pints of cold water, as the baſis of the ſoup. The meal muſt be well incorporated with the water, ſo that there be no lumps—It muſt then be boiled for about half an hour, during the boiling it muſt be conſtantly ſtirred.

A Meſs for ſixteen people.

lb.	oz.	
2	4	Meal compriſed in the above mixture or baſis of the ſoup.
8	0	Potatoes peeled and ſliced thin.
4	0	Green peas, or beans or any ſort of grain; which ſhould be previouſly beaten in a mortar
1	0	Beef cut into t ſixteen pieces: or one pound of ſalt fiſh
1	0	Vinegar
16	4	Salt, ſweet herbs and pepper as the taſte directs

It has been ſaid before, that the eſſential part of this buſineſs is the management of the fire. The ſucceſs of the proceſs depends ſo much upon it, that I muſt here repeat the direction, that an attentive perſon be ſtationed at the fire ſide to attend to it. The boiler ſhould be covered cloſe to prevent evaporation, and only occaſionally opened to ſtir the ſoup, that the ingredients might be thoroughly mixed and incorporated. I imagine this pottage will require more than two hours gentle ſimmering to be perfectly dreſſed. Experience muſt determine the time. If it be intended to prepare a larger meſs, the time for boiling it muſt be proportioned to the quantity and quality of the food.

If the potatoes are firſt boiled, the ſkins may be more eaſily taken off; and then they may be beaten into a pulp which would the more eaſily incorporate with the pottage.

In the foregoing receipt I have named the moſt common productions of a plantation, viz. corn, potatoes, and peas; others may be ſelected and a great variety uſed, which would make a better pottage. I have choſen the preſent formule, with the intention to ſhew the quantity of the ſolids, which I think may be allowed to each perſon, for whom victuals are cooked upon a plantation. In the calculation, I have not ſpecified the fractional parts of each article, as our ingenious philoſopher has done in order to be preciſely correct. The abundance of materials, which the iſland affords, admits a more liberal allowance. The portion of the Munich ſoup, which is a pint and a quarter and weighs twenty ounces averdupois, contains no more than ſix ounces of ſolids. The portion of pottage here allowed to each ſlave at dinner contains more than ſixteen ounces of ſolids. The difference in the quantity of ſolids allowed to each perſon proves, that if the

pottage be cooked according to the directions given, the ſlave at Barbadoes is better fed than the ſoldier at Munich. I could compoſe various receipts how the extenſive tribe of vegetables, which a plantation furniſhes, may be introduced into ſoups with advantage. But the compoſition and application of them to ſoups or to more ſubſtantial food will readily occur to thoſe, who feel that it is equally their duty and their intereſt to give their attention to the ſubject. I ſhall only ſuggeſt that in making this ſort of pottage, it is not very material of what vegetables it is compoſed, provided the weight of the ſolids be equal to the weight or quantity of the water, and due attention be paid to the cooking it. Eddoes indeed differ much from all other roots: the nutritive quality and the thickening power, which they poſſeſs, would ſeem to preclude the neceſſity of the addition of other articles. But I conceive a ſmall quantity of ſome of the acid vegetables would very much

much improve the eddoe-ſoup. Purcelain, ſorrel, watercreſſes, tops of young nettles, and of turnips are never thought of as articles of food. They are all wholeſome and nutritious. Some of them are medicinal. I hope they will be henceforward introduced into uſe to encreaſe the food for our people of all complexions.

In the happy variety of food which the Iſland furniſhes the plantain is certainly the moſt ſolid and ſubſtantial. I lament that it is not propagated with more induſtry and care; and that what is produced is not uſed or employed to the beſt advantage. A plantain boiled or roaſted is certainly a good thing; but eaten in that plain ſtate it does not contribute that degree of nouriſhment and ſupport, which it gives, when it is ſliced, and combined with other vegetables in a ſoup or pottage.

I imagine

I imagine the following ing redients will be found to make a good pottage viz.

lb.	oz.	
2	4	of this flour mixed in ſixteen pints of water and prepared as before directed, for the baſis of the pottage.
5	0	Potatoes, boiled and prepared
	0	Plantains, ſliced as cucumbers about the one eighth of an inch thick.
1	12	Ocroes, When the ſeaſon does not furniſh ocroes, the eddoe would be a good ſubſtitute to thicken the meſs.
1	0	Vinegar
1	0	Beef, divided into ſixteen pieces, or a pound of ſaltfiſh.
		Salt, ſweet herbs and red pepper as the taſte may direct.
16	0	

I propoſe vinegar as an article in the negro pottage not only becauſe it is recommended

recommended and adopted by Count Rumford, but becauſe I know it has been introduced by the beſt cooks into the moſt elegant ſauces.

The vinegar and the ſalt ſhould be added, and ſtirred juſt before the ſoup is taken off the fire. It has been long ſaid, and is now more generally known, that good cookery is good chemiſtry. It conſiſts in preparing food for all ranks of men in ſuch a manner as to gratify the palate and preſerve the health.

The pickle of ſalt beef and herrings, paſſed through a fine ſieve, is excellent for ſeaſoning the victuals of negroes. The uſe will prove the value.

Dried peas are allowed to be a wholeſome and nutritive diet: but boiled as they generally are over a ſtrong, quick fire, and ſerved to the negroes, ſometimes to children, in a hard, crude ſtate, they are leſs nutritious, certainly leſs palatable

palatable than they might be made by a different mode of cooking them. The profitable way of uſing them is firſt to ſoften them by ſoaking them in water, and then to reduce them to a pulp by pounding them in a mortar or by any mode of preſſure in order to prepare them to be eaten as a pudding or in a more liquid ſtate, with the addition of any other vegetable. I truſt you will adopt the mode I have ſuggeſted or deviſe ſome other, different from the preſent practice of dreſſing this valuable grain.

The PUMPION and the PAPAW will contribute ſo much to the improvement of a ſoup, that I ſtrongly recommend the cultivation and the uſe of them. In Italy the Pumpion is in much eſtimation, and contributes conſiderably to the ſupport of the poor. At Barbadoes, where their variety in ſhape, ſize and quality is great, ſome are ſuperior to any of thoſe I have ſeen in Italy

Italy. I conceive that the Pumpion and the Eddoe, with any one other vegetable, compounded in proper proportions, would make an excellent ſoup. The Papaw is not only good for food, but has medicinal properties, which ought to recommend it to a more general uſe among the negroes—It has the honour of being thus deſcribed by the poet Waller.—

———"The Fair Papaw—
" Now but a ſeed preſerving nature's Law,
" In half the circle of the haſty year
" Projects a ſhade and lovely fruits does wear.

The ſoups which I have recommended as the moſt profitable mode of adminiſtering the allowance of food to Negroes will require a conſiderable quantity of herbs to ſeaſon them. It will therefore be neceſſary that every plantation, according to its ſize, ſhould have a garden well ſtocked with ſuch as may be requiſite for the pot. The ſhallots at Barbadoes are excellent, and their produce abundant. As they will

very much improve every ſort of ſoup, ſauce or pottage, in which they may be uſed, I deſire you will propagate and raiſe an abundance of them.

The CASSADA and the ARROW-ROOT flour are valuable articles of food. The excellence of the caſſada-bread is well known. But neither the bread nor the flour has ever been uſed as an article in the compoſition of ſoup. I conceive the flour prepared and dried might be ſafely uſed to thicken the ſoup. But it ſhould be firſt aſcertained by experiments that ſuch preparation as the flour may have undergone, without the action of fire, has effectually deſtroyed its noxious quality.

The flour which the Arrow Root yields is as valuable for its culinary as it is for its medicinal properties. To enter into a minute deſcription of its virtues and its uſes would carry me beyond the intention of theſe inſtructions. I ſhall

I ſhall for the preſent do no more than recommend a trial of it. Upon a trial it will recommend itſelf. It has the thickening quality of Salope; and will contribute much to the improvement of any ſoup or pottage, in which the lighter vegetables may prevail; for great care muſt be taken that theſe meſſes are not thin and watery. The eye as well as the palate of a negro, who is required to eat what is provided for him, ought to be ſatisfied.——An ounce of the arrow-root flour boiled in a quart of water for fifteen or twenty minutes and ſweetened with melaſſes will thicken it to ſuch a degree of conſiſtency, as to make it a comfortable breakfaſt for a perſon, who is not to do laborious work. There is ſome art in preparing this meſs.—The ounce of arrow-root flour ſhould be mixed in a gill of cold water: it ſhould then be put to the other part of the water, made warm, and when well incorporated together, the whole ſhould be ſet

over the fire, and boiled. It ſhould be conſtantly ſtirred, while it is boiling, or the flour will ſubſide and ſtick to the bottom of the ſauce pan.

Though every inhabitant of a colony, where Indian corn is uſed as food, is ſuppoſed to know how to make cucoe, it is certain few underſtand how to *make it well.* For the inſtruction of thoſe, who may not be in poſſeſſion of Count Rumford's eſſay, I will tranſcribe that paragraph, which directs how the *haſty pudding* of America, which is the *cucoe* of Barbadoes, is made.

Page 253, He ſays, "In regard to "the moſt advantageous method of uſ- "ing Indian corn as food, I would "ſtrongly recommend, particularly "when it is employed for feeding the "poor, a diſh made of it, that is in "the higheſt eſtimation throughout "America, and which is really very "good and very nouriſhing. This is called

" called HASTY PUDDING: and it is
" made in the following manner. A
" quantity of water, proportioned to the
" quantity of haſty-pudding intended
" to be made is put over the fire in an
" open iron pot, or kettle, and a pro-
" per quantity of ſalt for ſeaſoning the
" pudding being previouſly diſſolved
" in the water, the Indian meal is ſtir-
" red into it, by little and little, with
" a wooden ſpoon with a long handle,
" while the water goes on to be heated
" and made to boil; great care being
" taken to put in the meal by very
" ſmall quantities and by ſifting it
" ſlowly through the fingers of the left
" hand and ſtirring the water about
" very briſkly at the ſame time with a
" wooden ſpoon, with the right hand
" to mix the meal with the water in
" ſuch a manner as to prevent lumps
" being formed. The meal ſhould be
" added ſo ſlowly, that when the water
" is brought to boil, the maſs ſhould
" not be thicker than water gruel, and

" half an hour more at leaſt ſhould be
" employed to add the additional quan-
" tity of meal neceſſary for bringing
" the pudding to be of a proper con-
"ſiſtency: during which time it ſhould
" be ſtirred about continually, and kept
" conſtantly boiling. The method of
" determining when the pudding has
" acquired the proper conſiſtency is this:
" the wooden ſpoon uſed for ſtirring
" it being placed upright in the middle
" of the kettle, if it falls down, more
" meal muſt be added: but if the pud-
" ding is ſufficiently thick and adheſive
" to ſupport it in a vertical poſition it
" is declared to be *proof*, and no more
" meal is added. If the boiling inſtead
" of being continued half an hour be
" prolonged to three quarters of an
" hour or an hour, the pudding will
" be conſiderably improved by this
" prolongation. "

After ſaying a great deal to recommend the Indian corn he adds—The approved

approved Receipt for making a plain Indian pudding, given him by the houſekeeper of SIR WM. PEPPEREL *Bart.—Viz.*

" Three pounds of Indian meal, which had been paſſed through a fine hair ſieve, were put into a large bowl, and five pints of boiling water put to it, and the whole ſtirred together; three quarters of a pound of melaſſes, and one ounce of ſalt were then added; and theſe being all mixed by ſtirring them with the other ingredients, the pudding was poured into a fit bag; and the bag being tied up (an empty ſpace being left in the bag in tying it, equal to about one ſixth of its contents, for giving room for the pudding to ſwell) this pudding was put into a kettle of boiling water, and was boiled *for ſix hours* without intermiſſion; the loſs of the water in the kettle by evaporation during this time being frequently replaced with *boiling water* from another kettle.

The pudding being taken out of the bag weighed ten pounds and one ounce; and it was found to be perfectly done, not having the ſmalleſt remains of that raw taſte ſo diſagreeable to all palates, which always predominates in diſhes prepared of Indian meal when they are not ſufficiently cooked."

I will not cloſe theſe inſtructions without ſaying a few words to obviate an objection, which *ſome men* may make to them. It may be ſaid that to prepare food conformable to the directions here given will require much time,—much attention, and much labour. It is admitted. But does it not require time, attention and labour to prepare the land for the production of the cane, and to manufacture it into Sugar and Rum? Will man refuſe to his ſlave, the likeneſs of himſelf, that care and expence, which he beſtows on a plant? Such a man, if ſuch a one there be, is too contemptible to be reaſoned with.—

Leaving

Leaving then every Gentleman to make his calculation, as his feelings and his judgment may direct him, and to adopt or reject what has been ſuggeſted with the moſt benevolent intention, I will only add that I depend upon *your* ſtrict conformity to theſe inſtructions; by which you will improve that friendſhip and confidence, which your humane, judicious and upright conduct has ſo long and ſo juſtly ſecured to you.

Having declared my diſapprobation of the ſlave trade, and wiſhing my opinion upon the ſubject to be clearly underſtood, I will here deliver the ſentiments I communicated to a Right Honorable perſon in Office the laſt time the queſtion was diſcuſſed in the Houſe of Commons.

The ſlave trade, like an unnatural excreſcence upon the human perſon, has grown out of our ſyſtem of commerce to a degree that vitiates and deforms. It is a blemiſh that ought to be removed: but the operation requires all the delicacy, as well as the boldneſs, of a good political ſurgeon. To tear it from its preſent adheſion to the ſtate by the rough hand of an act of Parliament would give pain and anguiſh, and might leave a ghaſtly ſcar behind. Applications that would check its courſe, and effect its gradual decay would prove the more *ſafe* and *certain* method of practice. The merchant, who

who has confided in the ſtability of a commerce, often ſanctioned by Parliament, would conſider an act of immediate abolition, as an act of injuſtice to individuals, and a breach of publick faith. The planter, who has formed a plan of extending and improving his property, upon the well grounded expectation of a regular ſupply of labourers, will juſtly complain of injury in the diſappointment. It may not perhaps be ſufficient to ſatisfy thoſe, who are thus intereſted, to ſay, *that they have had long notice of the intention of Parliament to aboliſh the trade.* They will anſwer, that they were not diſcouraged by the enthuſiaſm of a few from purſuing a ſyſtem, beneficial to themſelves and the ſtate; becauſe they looked forward to, and relied upon the ſacred juſtice and deliberate wiſdom of the Legiſlature. The argument ſeems too well founded to receive a direct refutation. But Parliament may truly ſay, that when the ſlave trade was permitted

and

and ſanctioned for the ſpeedy ſettlement of the ſugar colonies, it was hoped the nation would derive much benefit from the commerce without violating the juſtice and humanity, due to thoſe who were to become the objects of it. Sad experience has proved that in the odious traffic the principle of humaninity has been ſacrificed to the principle of gain. Parliament may now ſay to thoſe, who have perſiſted in this commerce.

"Though, Gentlemen, you have "violated thoſe laws of juſtice and hu- "manity, which were implied in the "Charter for the eſtabliſhment of this "trade, you ſhall not have cauſe to com- "plain of a violation of publick faith "by an act for the immediate abolition "of it. But until Parliament ſhall "think fit to decree its final extinction "the juſtice it owes to the ill-fated ob- "jects of this commerce, the reſpect "due to publick opinion upon the ſub- "ject, require ſuch further regulations as

"as will afford the comforts neceſſary "for the preſervation of their health."

This is the language of humanity. It is alſo the language which an attention to the intereſt of the planter ſuggeſts. It is the intereſt of the planter that the negro ſhould be carried to the colonies in as perfect health as the nature of the trade admits. It is well known that Africans, upon their arrival in the Weſt-Indies, are found to be more or leſs affected by thoſe diſeaſes which confined air, bad water, and filthy habits generate. The CONFINED AIR which they breathe during the long voyage is the principal cauſe of the unſound ſtate in which they arrive. Though the regulations, which the late act of Parliament enforces, have in ſome degree leſſened the ſufferings of ſlaves in their paſſage to the Weſt Indies, they are ſtill too limited to ſecure to thoſe people ſuch treatment as is neceſſary for the preſervation of health.

Among

Among the many regulations, which are ſtill wanting to effect this great object, the moſt eſſential one is, that in proportioning the number of negroes to the tonnage of ſhips employed in the African trade, a LARGER SPACE ſhould be allowed to each negro than the laſt act requires. Humanity dictates to thoſe, who ſanction the trade, a conſcientious attention to the means of preſerving health. Juſtice demands that an article of commerce, offered for ſale to the planter under the ſanction of an act of Parliament, ſhould be delivered FREE FROM DISEASE.

The regulations to be impoſed ſhould be ſuch AS WOULD RAISE THE PRICE OF THE AFRICAN NEGROES SO MUCH ABOVE THE PROPORTIONATE VALUE OF THE PRODUCE OF THEIR LABOUR IN THE COLONIES, THAT THE PLANTER WOULD FIND IT HIS INTEREST TO GIVE HIS ATTENTION TO HIS NATIVE SLAVES. Their encreaſe by his care of them would ſoon

ſuperſede the neceſſity of a ſupply from Africa. The trade would linger and die a natural death.

While the trade is continued the proportion between grown people and young people under four feet ſix inches ought to be aſcertained. Not more than one half of the former ought to be received into any cargo. After a limited time, and that limitation ſhould be ſhort, it would be wiſe to exclude *totally* from the trade all Males above five feet. Several ſtrong reaſons have *always* exiſted againſt the importation of men into the colonies. But the ſcenes of horrour, which ſome of our colonies have lately experienced, have proved the danger, and it is hoped will diſcourage the continuance, of the practice. The perilous ſtate, into which ſome of them have been thrown, by the large importation of grown Africans within a few years demands an attention to their future ſecurity.

Although the ſlave-trade has been a ſubject of ſo much diſcuſſion both in Parliament and in pamphlets, I do not recollect that its ORIGIN has ever been ſtated. The account is curious and I imagine will not be out of place here if I give it as I find it related in a little work, entitled

Recherches philoſophiques ſur les Americains

In the year 1440, the Pope by a bull granted to Alphonſus V. King of Portugal all the country along the weſtern coaſt of Africa, and forbid all chriſtian princes to diſturb or interrupt the Portugueſe in their enterpriſes to that part of the world. The Portugueſe made the application and the Pope granted it upon the pretext that all infidel nations ought to be conſidered as unjuſt poſſeſſors of territory*. The Africans were then firſt conſidered and made an article of commerce.

The plan of this commerce was con-

 ceived

* The hiſtory of the Portuguese by Laſitau, v. I. p. 15.

ceived and digeſted by a prieſt, named Las Casas. It was at firſt rejected by Cardinal Zemeués, but afterwards approved by Cardinal Adrien.

In the year 1516 the Spaniſh miniſtry granted an excluſive privilege for the purchaſe and ſale of negroes to the Sieur Chievres; who, not being in a ſituation to avail himſelf of the grant, ſold it for 2300 ducats to ſome Genoeſe merchants, who formed a company, which for a long time bore the name of la *Compagnie des Grilles*

This company agreed to furniſh the Spaniards with 4000 negroes the firſt year: but they carried only 1000 to St. Domingo; 500 males and 500 females. This firſt regular importation of ſlaves into America was in the year 1517.—About this time the depopulation of Mexico was ſo great, that one half of theſe blacks were immediately ſent to that country. The price of

theſe

theſe firſt negroes is ſaid to have been *exorbitant*.

When this ſpecies of ſlavery was authoriſed by the Pope, chriſtian princes thought themſelves juſtified in availing themſelves of the indulgence. The Infant Henriques of Portugal was the firſt, who employed negro-ſlaves.—Ferdinand the Catholic had a few ſent to America upon his own account, without aſking permiſſion of his holineſs.

In 1539 a publick market was held at Liſbon for the ſale of negroes and tawnies. We find in a letter from the Chevalier Goes upon this ſubject, "that "about that time from ten to twenty "thouſand negroes were bought and "ſold each year at Liſbon; and that "the price was from 10, 12, 20, and "30 to 50 ducats a piece." In another letter to Paul Jove he ſays, "the Afri-"cans deſerved to be treated like beaſts, "ſince they ſpake arabic, and were "circumciſed"

After this ſhort hiſtory of the ſlave-trade, I ſhall forbear to give any account of its progreſs and extenſion. Popes and Sovereigns may legalize but they cannot ſanctify it. Though this is my opinion I ſee the trade eſtabliſhed by ſuch authority, that I cannot help lamenting the want of candour, of decency and of judgment, which has been ſhewn in the attempt to aboliſh it. If its birth was unnatural,—if its growth has been diſguſtful—if its diſſolution is deſirable, let ſuch meaſures be adopted, "* *that like* ROTTEN *fruit it may drop into* "*nature's lap*"— let it not be "*harſhly* "*pluckt*. "

* Milton ſays ripe.

A RECEIPT

To make an Italian Compoſition for floors.

The floors of the moſt elegant apartments in the fineſt palaces in Italy are commonly of a compoſition. A Gentleman of Genoa gave me as favour the following receipt for making the compoſition

lb.		
25	Calcina virgine -	Unſlacked lime
50	Geſſo di preſa - - -	Chalk.
50	Polvere di mattone	Brick-duſt.
25	Spuma di ferro, ben peſto. - - -	Froth of iron finely powdered.

N. B. A ſmall addition of marble-duſt will very much improve the compoſition.

The Spuma di ferro, or the froth of iron, is a ſponge-like ſubſtance, which is thrown up in ſmelting the Ore. This is an eſſential article in the compoſition

on. As it is not imported into Barbadoes, I recommend ſmith cinders, finely prepared, as the beſt ſubſtitute for it.

The quantity of melaſſes is not ſpecified in the receipt given me. But I imagine the 150 weight of the above materials will require about one gallon of freſh muſcovado melaſſes. Experience muſt determine the quantity. It is certain the nearer we approach to the Italian receipt, the better will be the compoſition. Upon the few trials I have made I think a cement may be compoſed by the following receipt, which would be found uſeful for floors, and flat roofs.—

A RECEIPT TO MAKE A CEMENT.

Take 3 gallons of ſmith-cinders.
—— 5 ditto of Brick-duſt.
—— 50 pounds of Engliſh chalk, or as a ſubſtitute ſix gallons of dry marl or ſand.

Let the above ingredients be well pul-
veriſed

veriſed and paſſed through a fine ſieve. Mix them well together, then add about one gallon of melaſſes, mixing it gradually with the other materials. The lumps that will be formed muſt be beaten into a fine powder, ſo that the whole may be thoroughly mixt. In a ſeparate veſſel mix ſix gallons of the ſtrongeſt lime with five gallons of water. When beaten into a thin batter, add it to the above materials: then beat and work up the whole maſs with an iron ſpade until it comes into a ſtate almoſt liquid. When the cement is thus prepared, it ſhould be immediately uſed. Care muſt be taken in laying it on to paſs the trowel inceſſantly over it, and with ſome degree of preſſure until it be perfectly ſet and dry.— The proceſs ſhould be performed by at leaſt two perſons. While one is laying on and ſmoothing the cement, the other ſhould follow to ſet it, in order to prevent it from cracking. Attention ſhould be paid to it for ſome hours after the work

work is finiſhed, that in caſe any little cracks or ſiſſures ſhould appear, they may be ſet or ſtopt by paſſing a bruſh over them, dipt in ſtrong lime water, or giving the floor, if the expence can be afforded, a ſlight coat of plain common oil. When this cement is uſed for floors or flat roofs it ought to be laid on about half an inch thick.

The following directions for preparing indian corn as an ingredient in a ſoup,— and *the receipt for a very cheap ſoup* have been omitted in their proper place: they appear to me ſo uſeful, that I cannot withhold them from thoſe, who may not be poſſeſſed of the eſſay, in which they are contained.

Count Rumford ſays page 292, "were I aſked to give a receipt for the "cheapeſt food, which (in my opinion) "it

" it would be poſſible to provide in this
" country, it would be the following.

" Take of water eight gallons, and
" mixing with it 5 lb. of barley-meal,
" boil it to the conſiſtency of a thick
" jelly.— Seaſon it with ſalt, pepper,
" vinegar ſweet herbs, and four red
" herrings, pounded in a mortar.— In-
" ſtead of bread, add to it 5 lb. of indian
" corn made into *Samp*, and ſtirring it
" together with a ladle, ſerve it up im-
" mediately in portions of 20 ounces.

" SAMP is a diſh invented by the ſa-
" vages in North America, who have
" no corn mills.— It is Indian Corn de-
" prived of its. external coat by ſoaking
" it ten or twelve hours in a lixivium
" of water and wood aſhes.— This coat
" or huſk being ſeparated from the ker-
" nel riſes to the ſurface of the water,
" while the grain, which is ſpecifically
" heavier than water, remains at the
" bottom of the veſſel; which grain,

" thus

" thus deprived of its hard coat of ar-
" mour, is boiled or rather ſimmered for
" a great length of time, two days for
" inſtance in a kettle of water, placed
" near the fire. When ſufficiently cook-
" ed, the kernels will be found to be
" ſwelled to a great ſize and burſt open,
" and this food, which is uncommonly
" ſweet and nouriſhing, may be uſed in
" a great variety of ways; but the beſt
" way of uſing it is to mix it with milk,
" and with ſoups and broths, as a ſub-
" ſtitute for bread. It is even better
" than bread for theſe purpoſes; for
" beſides being quite as palatable as the
" very beſt bread, as it is leſs liable
" than bread, to grow too ſoft, when
" mixed with theſe liquids without be-
" ing diſagreeably hard, it requires more
" maſtication and conſequently tends
" more to encreaſe and prolong the
" pleaſure of eating. "

THE END.

INSTRUCTIONS

FOR THE

TREATMENT AND IMPROVEMENT

OF

NEGROES.

IT is a duty enjoined by God, that men ſhould treat each other with the reſpect, kindneſs and humanity due to the rank and ſtation, in which his wiſdom has placed them. A manager, impreſſed with a proper ſenſe of this duty, will find in his own breaſt the beſt director how to govern ſervants and to treat ſlaves. Satisfied as I am with your attention to thoſe committed to your care, I ſhould not think it neceſſary to frame inſtructions for your conduct: but the condition of ſlaves,

and the conduct of both maſters and managers continues to be ſo much the ſubject of enquiry, that I now venture to reprint thoſe inſtructions, which were at firſt offered to the publick with the hope of repelling the illiberal attacks of dangerous and miſtaken zealots, as far as the practice of an individual could influence publick opinion.—They are now methodiſed and enlarged by ſome obſervations, which it is hoped will prove uſeful.

The information, which a parliamentary enquiry produced, has indeed transferred the charge of cruelty and oppreſſion from the maſter to the manager: but the charge of injuſtice and inattention is raiſed againſt the former for a careleſs delegation of his power to the latter. In many of thoſe pamphlets, which groſs ignorance, miſtaken zeal, or affected importance have produced, this may be ſeen among the heavy charges

charges in the long bill of complaint exhibited againſt the Weſt India planter.

To engage a faithful obſervance of theſe inſtructions it is neceſſary to impreſs managers with a proper ſenſe of the relation, which ſubſiſts between their employers and themſelves; that they may feel a conviction, that every proprietor of a plantation has a right to preſcribe regulations for the government of his people, and to require an obedience to them from thoſe, who engage in their ſervice. Unleſs this conviction is felt and admitted, directions, which humanity ſuggeſts, may be conſidered as controul which degrades.——

One of the moſt important parts of management is a judiciou diviſion of negroes into gangs. The application of their labour to works, ſuited to their ſtrength and ability, requires the niceſt attention. A manager, immediately after his entrance upon a plantation

ought to examine individually, the ſtate and condition of the negroes, and to aſſort them in ſuch a manner, that they may never be employed upon any work, to which their powers are not equal. Happily for this claſs of beings, who are as much the objects of God's care, as the faireſt ſubjects of his creation, ſelf intereſt combines with humanity to direct a mild and generous treatment.

Upon every plantation there are leading men, with capacity to diſtinguiſh. Perhaps they may be the more ſenſible of injuries, the leſs able they may find themſelves to redreſs them. They will be always prone to give to others the impreſſion they take themſelves. Be careful then that your general conduct towards the negroes be ſuch as to engage the good opinion and affections of the principal people. It is not enough to recommend a man to me that he is not harſh and ſevere. Humanity and benevolence muſt be the characteriſticks

of

of every man in my ſervice. Yet I grant that a certain degree of diſcipline is neceſſary in the management and direction of negroes. In all governments a diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments muſt be admitted. The idle, the refractory, and the vitious muſt be corrected and puniſhed. But when correction, or puniſhment for great offences becomes neceſſary, the culprit ſhould be made ſenſible, that the intention is to reform him and to deter others. The true ſpirit of humanity and benevolence will not only reſtrain the hand from inflicting frequent puniſhments, but will reſtrain the tongue from uttering uſeleſs upbraidings. The ſtroke of the whip does not materially injure a negro by the laceration of his body. It operates by the effect it has on his mind. It is his ſenſe that it is unjuſtly inflicted, or exceeds the magnitude of his fault, that gives the wound to the heart. The body may ſmart under the

ſtroke, and be ſore for a while; but the body will heal, and if it be the ſtroke of juſtice it will not be remembered with bitterneſs or deſpondency. If then it be the mind that feels the ſeverity or the injuſtice, it is certainly the duty of both maſter and manager to abſtain from abuſive language to negroes. Epithets of reproach and abuſe, whether delivered with a ſtern countenance, and a loud voice, or in the peeviſh ſnarl of affected moderation degrade, deject, and ſink the negroes to the grave. The fierce hound, when hiſſed and hooted, though not whipped or beaten by his maſter, crouches under a ſenſe of diſgrace. If ſuch an animal is capable of feeling diſpleaſure and ſhame, how muſt a fellow creature, equal to his maſter in the eye of heaven, be dejected and diſheartened by words and geſtures, which make a very dog hang his ears. Abuſe to an inferior deprived by his ſituation of the

poor

poor ſatisfaction of retorting that abuſe, is unworthy and unmanly. A ſenſe of honour forbids it. A ſenſe of juſtice to his employer ſhould reſtrain the manager from the practice.—To require exertion above the power of a negro is deemed *oppreſſion*. The unworthy treatment I have juſt deſcribed is fatal *depreſſion*. It acts as a ſlow, but it operates as a ſure poiſon to the life of the ſlave. He then, who would abſtain from adminiſtering this poiſon, he who would not be the deſtroyer of thoſe he is appointed to preſerve, muſt abſtain from language, which diſheartens, depreſſes and kills.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the quantum of labour, a gang of negroes may be required to perform in a day. As much depends upon the ſoil and the weather, as upon their bodily condition. The only rule I have to recommend is, that the gang be collected and ſettled by the riſing of the ſun. Their

appearance

appearance in the field by that time ſhould be ſtrictly required, as labour in the cool of the day is not injurious to health. But in damp or rainy mornings be indulgent to thoſe, who come late into the field. When negroes are employed in laborious buſineſs, they ſhould be allowed, particularly in the heat of the day, *to work at their eaſe*. A manager, with good health, and anxious for ſucceſs, is apt to judge of the powers of a gang of negroes by the ſtrength of his own conſtitution. A laudable ambition to acquire or to preſerve his reputation, as a manager, may betray him into diſtreſſing exertions, almoſt without imputation upon his humanity. The cultivation of the ſugar-cane, from the inſertion of the plant in the earth to the package of the ſugar in the caſk, is a continued proceſs of hard labour. But, unhappily for ſlaves, what paſſes daily under our view too frequently eſcapes our notice. Managers, who ſincerely reprobate acts of oppreſſion, can behold

the

the toilſome buſineſs of the field, conducted in its uſual courſe, from day to day, without attention to the relief and relaxation, which nature requires the better to enable theſe valuable labourers to perform their accuſtomed ſervice: whereas, if they would obſerve and reflect, they would diſcover that the ſyſtem, which preſerves and lengthens life, is the very ſyſtem of drawing moſt labour from a gang of negroes. *Declining* negroes can do but little work. *Dead* negroes ceaſe to work. This obvious truth, if temper does not counteract reaſon and conviction, will teach managers, that the art of obtaining from a gang of negroes the moſt work, *in the courſe of the year*, is to moderate the quantum of their labour *in the courſe of each day*. It is certain, and it is to be regretted, that the general practice and uſage of the country, ſeems to juſtify managers in requiring the *full qnantum* of daily labour from negroes which they are capable of performing without immediate

mediate and viſible inconvenience. I wiſh to impreſs every proprietor, as well as every manager of a plantation, with the perſuaſion, that the cultivation of the ſugar cane, and the manufacture of ſugar ought to be carried on only by ſuch a degree of labour, as ſlaves can perform *without impairing their ſtrength, or injuring their health.*

This ſyſtem of moderation would ſoon become the general practice, if thoſe who have the care of negroes would cloſe each day with theſe reflections—viz. Will the quantum of labour performed this day under my directions prove injurious to them? Have they been too much and too long expoſed to the ſultry heat of this day's ſun, or to the chilling damp of this day's rain? Have I treated them in all reſpects as fellow creatures, committed to my care and dependent on my will? Such reflections as theſe would not fail to have a happy influence on the conduct of managers. The

The regulation recommended for the working of ſlaves ſhould begin with the allowance of a longer time than is uſually given to negroes at noon. The allowance ſhould be ſuch an interval as will enable them to return to their work, with ſpirits recruited by reſt. Reſt refreſhes, invigorates and fits man for labour. Work long continued, though it be not violent, fatigues, diſtreſſes and enfeebles.

Men are ſlow to underſtand what they do not like to practice. To ſuch men I will endeavour more fully to explain, that the moſt work may be obtained from any number of negroes in *the courſe of the year*, or of years, by moderating the quantum of labour required to be performed *in the courſe of each day*. Though a manager may uſe his beſt judgment in dividing the negroes of a plantation into gangs, there will always be a difference in the ability of thoſe, ſelected to perform the more laborious

laborious parts of management. The weak muſt be preſſed to keep pace with the ſtrong; or the ſtrong muſt be reſtrained for the relief of the weak. If the weaker people are *ſuffered*, I will not ſay *driven*, to perform an equal ſhare of the labour of the day, though they may ſupport it for a while, many muſt ſink under the continuance of an exertion beyond their natural powers.

It is evident that any decreaſe in the original ſtock muſt occaſion a proportionate encreaſe of labour to the ſurviving number, until a further reduction compels the manager to reduce his crop of canes and to accommodate his plan of management to the powers of his diminiſhed gang. Reaſon, confirmed by experience, directs ſuch an allowance of time *in each day*, that every negro may return to his work refreſhed by reſt, and be thereby enabled to work *through the year*, uninjured by exertion.

It is upon a full coviction of the benefit

benefit as well as the ſatisfaction I ſhall derive from the indulgence that I direct not leſs than half an hour be allowed to the great gang at their breakfaſt, and two hours at noon: the time at noon to be computed from the ringing of the firſt bell, upon the arrival of negroes in the mill-yard to the ringing of the ſecond bell.

To ſay a grace to negroes at their principal meal would certainly contribute much to impreſs upon their minds a proper ſenſe of religious worſhip. But I fear the mode of ſerving their food to them, which the buſineſs of the plantation will not allow to be altered, would make it difficult to introduce the practice. I think however that a ſhort grace might be ſaid to them at their brakfaſt. The performance will be eaſy, and if the thing be done with becoming ſeriouſneſs it will not fail to have a good effect, I wiſh the experiment to be tried. When the negroes retire from

 their

their work to breakfaſt, let them be aſſembled in rows, or drawn up three deep, with their hand held up in a pious poſition, the Grace may then be ſaid; at the end of which each negro ſhould be inſtructed to ſay aloud, Amen. I wiſh this Ceremony to be frequently performed by the miſſionary.— In the abſence of the miſſionary the Grace may be ſaid by the white driver, who ſhould be made ſenſible of the ſanctity of the office he is performing: that it is a grateful offering of thanks to God for food ſupplied by him.

I recommend the uſe of the following form of words as a Grace—

"O God, we are taught and we believe that it is by thy command the earth doth bring forth food for the uſe of man. We pray thee that thou wouldeſt bleſs our labours, and make it produce plenty for our ſupport. Impreſs us always with a due ſenſe that it is from thee we receive

our

our daily bread: And grant that this preſent meal may convey to our bodies nouriſhment and health, and to our minds gratitude and love Amen."

I cannot ſuppreſs an obſervation I have made upon the impatience of managers to require convaleſcents to return to their work. This conduct is as injudicious as it is inhuman. If it does not cauſe an immediate relapſe, it retards nature's return to ſound health, and full ſtrength. An exertion beyond the power of the patient in the early ſtage of recovery may irretrieveably break the conſtitution. In venereal caſes, ſlow fevers, and dyſenteries, the recovery of health is ſlow. I recommend ſuch ſubjects to your particular attention.

Women, who have children at the breaſt, ſhould not be required to appear in the field before ſeven o'clock in the morning. In bad days, during the

rainy ſeaſon, they ſhould be employed about ſome work within doors. As ſoon as women are known to be pregnant, they ſhould be relieved from all the laborious work of the plantation. In that ſtate, they ſhould never carry any load: but they ſhould not be given up to idleneſs. Let them be employed upon ſome buſineſs, which will oblige them to make their appearance every day. The manager ſhould be attentive that they do not ramble out of the plantation. It is uſual to allow one month to a woman after her delivery: but if a particular caſe ſhould be attended with any circumſtances, which require a longer reſpite from labour for the perfect recovery of health and ſtrength, let it be always given.

Children at the breaſt are generally too much expoſed to the ſun and the rain. I deſire that a tray, with a proper head for the protection of the child, may be given to every mother.

I am

I am ſo perſuaded that more labour might be obtained from a gang of negroes if more time was allowed them, that I direct to every negro, who has a houſe and to his wife, one half day in every month, from the end of the crop to the end of the year. Nevertheleſs, that this indulgence may not be abuſed, that this allowance of time may be employed to their real advantage, I direct that on the afternoon, which ſhall be given to them, they ſhall be conducted by a proper ſuperintendant to their ſeveral gardens. They ought to be required not only to plant their land but to keep their fences and hedge-rows in neat order; ſo that the whole may be agreeable to the eye as well as productive,—

I further direct that to every woman, who has a child, one half day ſhall be given in every month: to every woman, who has two children, two half days in every month: to one with three children

three half days;— and to the happy mother of four children one half day in every week.—

I enjoin your punctual and conſtant adherence to this inſtruction.

I find it impoſſible to deſcribe how I think the negroes of a plantation ought to be fed. Directions for others would be uſeleſs, becauſe every man will follow his own feelings or opinion. I may however be allowed to expreſs my wiſhes, that every proprietor would think and feel, that his intereſt muſt ultimately be promoted by his liberality to his ſlaves. We are told that what we give to the poor we lend to the Lord. Beſides this great incitement to give, I *know* that what is given to the ſlave is amply returned to the maſter. I ſhall therefore content myſelf with this general direction, that the plentiful allowance, to which *my* negroes have been accuſtomed, ſhall be continued to

them

them. The plantation managed by the directions I have given in another place, I hope, will always produce ſuch a plenty of proviſions as to enable you to afford to the Great Gang, when employed upon laborious work, a hot meal in the field, as an extraordinary breakfaſt.

Melaſſes is ſo wholeſome and nutritious, that beſides the allowance to thoſe, who may be employed in holeing the land and turning or throwing out the dung, I would have you diſtribute a ſmall proportion of it with ſome dried ginger to all the working people in cold and damp evenings.— In ſuch weather a pipe is ſaid to be comfortable. I deſire you will keep a conſtant ſupply of pipes and tobacco in the plantation, and to diſtribute them, occaſionally, to thoſe who ſmoke.

The ſalutary effects of the cane-juice are well known. Give it freely to all, who deſire it, not only from the mill in its raw ſtate, but from the copper, when clarified. As

As every thing ſhould be deviſed and nothing withheld, that can contribute to preſerve the health of females, I direct that a ſhort flannel under-petticoat be made a part of the annual cloathing of *all the females* in the ſecond as well as in the firſt gang. A ſmall degree of the knowledge of the human frame will inform you, that laborious exerciſe obſtructs procreation: for which reaſon it is extremely improper and ill-judged to make females carry canes to the mill or in uneven fields. A proper attention to the ſex forbids the removal of a female into the firſt gang, until ſhe has attained the age of twenty-one years; and *not then, unleſs her bodily ſtrength* will enable her to perform the laborious part of the plantation-work.

As a juſt reward to mothers for care and attention to their children, I direct that ten ſhillings be given on chriſtmas-day to every negro woman, who ſhall then have four children living.— Three

half

half crowns to thoſe, who ſhall have three children—and five ſhillings to the mother of one child. I alſo direct ten ſhillings to be given to every woman upon the birth of her firſt child, if it ſurvives one month.—

It is a reproach to all thoſe, who have the care and direction of plantations, that very little attention is paid to effect any union like a marriage between negroes. I beg you will free me from the imputation of this ſcandalous neglect of a great moral duty and wiſe inſtitution by uſing your endeavours to prevail with the people of Spring Head to form ſome kind of conjugal *connexion*.—I do not wiſh you to interpoſe authority in an affair, where inclination and choice ought to direct the parties.—To impreſs them with ſome idea of the propriety of ſuch an union, and to encourage them to enter into it by annexing ſome benefits and privileges to that ſtate of life is all the interference I aſk of you.

It behoves you however to uſe all the vigilance and circumſpection, which decency allows, to prevent the too frequent intercourſe, which otherwiſe will prevail between the ſexes at too early a period of their lives,— Early proſtitution is the certain obſtruction to population. The evil and the diſgrace can only be prevented by early marriages. And this I am perſuaded may be effected by giving a comfortable eſtabliſhment to the young couple. The ſoul muſt be contracted indeed, which cannot expand itſelf to the ſmall extent of a patch of ground, ſufficient to enable the married pair to practice induſtry and morality.

The young people in the ſecond gang require the manager's particular care. The driver of this gang ſhould be a perſon of experience, good temper and diſcretion; active, but not harſh. He may be allowed to reprimand and to threaten; but never to correct beyond

one

one ſtroke of the *rod* to excite attention. He ſhould be capable of inſtructing his gang how to manage their hoes, and how to ſhape holes in a proper manner. For the want of this inſtruction to young negroes, I have ſometimes ſeen plantation work very ſlovenly performed by the great-gang. I muſt here uſe the freedom of ſuggeſting to managers, that it is a very neceſſary part of their duty to have negroes inſtructed to perform their work in a proper manner. The time for inſtruction is while they are in the ſecond gang.——

It is judicious as well as humane to draft from the great gang thoſe, whoſe age or infirmity demand a releaſe from the more laborious work of the plantation. They may be employed with the ſecond gang upon every occaſion, which does not require agility. If there be any of theſe, or of the ſecond gang, whom you think not worthy to be truſted with that part of their raw allowance, which

which is uſually given to them, the food of ſuch ſhould be prepared for them, and ſerved to them, as to the children. Animal food is ſo neceſſary to recover and ſupport the convaleſcent and the weak, that I muſt here enforce the direction I have given in another place to have the aged cattle and ſheep killed for their uſe.

The little ones, who compoſe the children's gang, and infants too young to be put into it, deſerve and claim your greateſt regard and attention, as their guardian, while their natural parents are employed in the field. It is by your care of them, that the ſucceſſion is to be preſerved and continued. In damp ſituations they ſhould be warmly cloth-ed, and carefully prevented from expoſing themſelves to the rain. The neglect to clothe children, and to preſerve them from the weather is one cauſe of decreaſe in negroes.— If by youthful negligence a cap, or jacket be

loſt

loſt, let another be given. Whenever you perceive a child to decline, be early in your enquiry and examination of him. A more nouriſhing diet than the uſual food, afforded in time, is better phyſick than the apothecary's ſhop can ſupply. Do not neglect to inform yourſelf how the child is lodged and treated by the mother. Every manager ought occaſionally to examine the houſes of the negroes, that he may know, upon his own inſpection, whether the children are lodged upon good cabins. The dangerous period of a negro's life is from the time of his being weaned to the age of ſeven years. While a child is at the breaſt, the mother is permitted to retire to her houſe at ſun-ſetting: then at reſt from the labour of the day ſhe has time to beſtow proper care upon him. The infant born with a good conſtitution, generally ſurvives the dangers of this tender ſtate. But when he is arrived at the age, when he muſt be weaned, the whole time of the mother is required in

the field. It is during this period, that is from the time of being weaned to the time of being put into the children's gang, that these infants are most liable to contract habits and diseases, which destroy them. If you have cause to suspect the care of the parents or their ability to do all that is necessary for the preservation of their children, the children of such mothers should be taken from them and lodged in the apartment, which has been prepared for them. The time, when the child may with safety be put into the children's gang or removed into the second gang, must be left to your observation and judgment. The *size* and the *strength* of the child will direct you. I beg to guard you against too early a removal.

I cannot too much lament the parsimony of the proprietors of plantations, who can behold a regular decrease of their negroes without attention to some of the most obvious means of preserving them.

them. An hoſpital, with a ſeparate ward for each ſick perſon, and diſtinct apartments for the male and female convaleſcents, ſeems to me to be the natural ſuggeſtion of humanity. I know, upon experience, that its utility by the comfort it affords to the ſick, in ſlight as well as in dangerous caſes, would ſoon repay the expence of building one. In this hoſpital it is requiſite that a proper room ſhould be allotted for pregnant women to lie in. The life of the infant depends upon the care that is taken of it in the month; more eſpecially for the firſt nine days. Freſh air and quiet are eſſential to its preſervation. He, who refuſes theſe comforts to his ſlaves, denies to himſelf the ſatisfaction, which he would feel, as a good chriſtian, from the reflection, that he had fulfilled his duty, and as a worldly man, from the conſideration that he has promoted his intereſt.

To preſerve children from thoſe dan-

gers, to which the ſtate of infancy is expoſed, I recommend the incloſing, by a fence or a paling, a ſmall ſpot of ground proportioned to the number of children, as a piece of play ground for them. The ſpot ſhould be choſen near the manager's houſe, that they may be always within view. In this incloſure it would be proper to have ſome ſuitable building to protect themfrom the ſun and the rain. A room 20 feet long, and 8 feet wide, open to the Weſt, would anſwer the purpoſe. The common inſtruments of huſbandry, made of a ſmall ſize, may be given to them as play things. One or two ſmall drums, and the muſical pump, made by the plantation carpenter, would contribute to divert them.

I cannot omit the mention of any thing, that occurs to me, for the preſervation of health. Chiggers ſometimes infeſt negroes beyond their own power to deſtroy them. In ſuch inſtances I recommend a ſtrong lye and a ſharp ointment. Their feet

feet ſhould be ſoaked in the lie for half an hour, then anointed, then wrapped in a coarſe cloth—This operation ſhould be repeated every day. Until the chiggers are deſtroyed, the negro ſhould be employed about ſome work that does not require walking. An ignorant, negligent man will ſay, this is a loſs of time, and of labour: but it will be the language of ignorance, negligence and inhumanity.

The nature of the climate, and the nature of the food ſomtimes produces acrimonious habits in weakly ſubjects. In ſuch caſes the perſpiration becomes obſtructed, and a whitiſh ſcurf appears upon the ſurface of the ſkin, attended generally with an itching. Reſtorative diet is the beſt phyſick for ſuch patients. Tepid bathing is ſo efficacious in this, and many other caſes, that I have added a bath to the hoſpital. I did not incur the expence without being ſatisfied of the utility of it. And I truſt it will be uſed

upon every occaſion, which requires it. The water ſhould be heated to 92, or 93 degrees. The patient ſhould remain in it from 15 to 20 minutes or half an hour, as he is able to bear it, that the ſcurfineſs, which obſtructed perſpiration produces on the ſkin, be ſo ſoftened as to be eaſily rubbed off with a coarſe cloth. Let this be repeated twice a week, until the patient ſhall have a clean ſkin.

Theſe laſt inſtructions relate to the perſonal preſervation of the young people. But to rear them like animals for labour is a ſyſtem of degradation, that ſhocks humanity. It is hoped, at this enlightened period, thoſe who have ſucceeded to property, cultivated by ſlaves, under the ſanction of Britiſh laws, feel different ſentiments. It is not my intention to diſcuſs the queſtion whether ſlavery is reconcileable with Chriſtianity. I mean no more than to endeavour to impreſs every Chriſtian, who thinks himſelf juſtified in holding a property in his

his fellow creatures, that it is his duty to make the lives of his ſlaves as *happy* as a ſtate of ſlavery admits. We are taught that to be *happy* we muſt be *good:* To be good we muſt be taught to *diſtinguiſh* what is evil. It follows then that ſuch a ſhare of inſtruction as may be neceſſary to open the underſtanding, and enlighten the mind of the ſlave, *in a degree to enable* him to judge between good and evil, ought not to be withheld from him. It is in the early ſtage of life when inſtruction, which is to produce reformation, ſhould be given. It will therefore be proper to appoint ſome ſenſible, well diſpoſed perſon, of a certain age, to attend and inſtruct the children—The building, which has been already erected as a ſchool for the inſtruction of the young people by the Miſſionary, may be appropriated to this purpoſe. Let a ſtrong bench of a proper ſize be *fixed* in this room— Form and order are eſſential in communicating inſtruction to young minds. When the little people

ple are collected, range them along this bench. The placing them in order, one below the other, according to their ſizes, will ſubject them to the obſervation of each other. To keep ſilence, to give attention, and to obſerve quietneſs and decency in their behaviour, ſhould be amongſt the firſt things they are taught. If the plantation ſhould not furniſh a perſon, qualified to give theſe firſt leſſons of inſtruction, I will allow a reaſonable ſalary to any capable woman in the neighbourhood, whom you ſhall approve and appoint. The office of this woman will be to collect the little ones early in the morning, to have their hands and faces waſhed, and their perſons made clean. She is then to ſerve their breakfaſt to them as ſoon as it can be prepared. But until it is ſerved to them, they ſhould be left to amuſe themſelves within their bounds as they like. At this meal, as well as at their dinner, let them be ranged in order according to their ſizes. I recommend a

ſhort

ſhort grace to be ſaid immediately after each meal. Let the teacher call the attention of the children by a ſmall bell or the ſtroke of a hammer, and then pronounce with a ſlow, and ſolemn tone the following ſentence.

O God! We offer unto Thee thanks for the meal which thou haſt given us.

The children muſt be taught to repeat theſe words diſtinctly after the teacher. After this grace, the teacher may begin her inſtructions; which ſhould be ſimple, and adapted to the underſtanding of the children. An exact form of words for the purpoſe cannot be prepared, I can only ſuggeſt the neceſſity of impreſſing upon the children the belief of a God, the *advantages* of pleaſing that ſupreme Being, and *how* they may pleaſe him. The next uſeful leſſon will be how they ought to behave to their ſuperiors, to their parents, and to each other. Under the eye of a conſtant obſerver

ſerver, the practice of little acts of kindneſs may be enforced, and bad tendencies ſuppreſſed. Thus will good habits be formed. A ſubmiſſion to the ſtate, in which it has pleaſed God to place them, cannot be too early inculcated. The advantage of living under the protection of a benevolent maſter ſhould be fully explained: examples ſhould be pointed out to them, that thoſe, who behave well, are kindly treated and made happy upon every plantation. Theſe inſtructions ſhould be given in the eaſy ſtile of converſation, and the children allowed to aſk queſtions for their information. As their feeble attention ſhould not be fatigued, I recommend that the lecture ſhould not be continued longer than fifteen minutes. It would be well to repeat it in the evening with the ſame ſerioufneſs and formality.

Men differ ſo much in their ſentiments upon the ſubject of ſlavery, that I ſhall forbear to deliver any opinion how far the

the propoſed plan of inſtruction may be carried with advantage to the ſlave, and with ſafety to the ſtate. However we may differ in our theory I hope we ſhall ſhew in our practice that juſtice and policy may be reconciled.

Reading, by communicating knowledge, promotes happineſs. It affords amuſement even to thoſe, whom it does not lead to ſcience. A chearful tale engages theattention and excludes uneaſy reflection. I conceive a negro will receive much comfort and the maſter much advantage from ſuch a degree of inſtruction as will enable the ſlave to read and to underſtand. I do therefore earneſtly recommend it to you to purſue ſteadily the plan, which I hope is already begun at Spring-Head.

I know men feel an aukwardneſs and difficulty at the commencement of every undertaking impoſed upon them, which is novel, and of which the ſucceſs is doubtul

doubtful. But I truſt you will not be diſcouraged by the dulneſs, intractableneſs, or perverſeneſs of children, unaccuſtomed to inſtruction. You have power to compel their daily attendance. Mild language and kind treatment to all, and little marks of favour to thoſe, who deſerve well will reconcile them to the reſtraints, which tuition impoſes, and engage the attention which learning requires. If there be any not diſpoſed to receive inſtruction, do not at firſt force it upon them. Children, as well as men, grow deſirous of what they obſerve others to value or poſſeſs:— and if reading be conſidered to give preeminence, they will deſire to be taught; eſpecially if their firſt leſſons be made an amuſement; as it may be, by the uſe of ivory ſpinners with four letters of the alphabet on the four ſides of each ſpinner. They ſhould be given to the children as play things: And at the end of the week ſome reward ſhould be beſtowed on the child, who had learned moſt letters.

The

The hope that the minds of the young negroes may be enlightened by cultivation induces me to approve and to direct that all upon my plantations, under the age of eight years, be immediately baptiſed. To impreſs the parents and ſuch of the children as are capable of obſervation with the importance of the act, I deſire that the ceremony be performed in the Hall of the Manſion-Houſe, and in the preſence of a congregation, compoſed of the ſervants and ſome of the moſt ſenſible negroes of the plantations. It will be proper that the clergyman be fully habitted in his gown and ſurplice to give dignity to the ceremony. The office ſhould be performed with great ſolemnity.— An explanation of the nature of baptiſm, ſuited to the comprehenſion of the young people, ſhould be conſtantly given. They may be ſoon made to underſtand that by baptiſm they become members of a ſociety, which was eſtabliſhed by the diſciples of Jeſus Chriſt, who was the Son of God.

And that it is a covenant with Chriſt to live according to his laws.——

Early baptiſm, I truſt, will prove a good foundation for the improvement of the young. I fear it would prove an unavailing ceremony to the adult. If, however, by a ſhort and eaſy explanation of baptiſm a negro can be made to believe in the advantages of it,— If any ſenſe of the *Holy miſſion* can be impreſſed upon his mind, in ſuch a caſe the opportunity ſhould be ſeized to have him baptiſed; and no pains ſhould be ſpared in the firſt inſtances, which preſent themſelves, to improve the good diſpoſition of the convert. A little ſpare time ſhould be allowed him for reflection and to acquire inſtruction.

The indulgence will afford an opportunity of judging of his ſincerity. Thoſe, who intereſt themſelves in this pious work, ſhould be careful to propoſe baptiſm to ſuch only as are deſirous of receiving

ceiving it,—not to preſs it upon the unwilling. Reaſon ſhould be convinced and deſire excited before it be adminiſtered.

As the chriſtian religion corrects habits and reſtrains indulgencies, which ſlaves are accuſtomed to practice, privileges and immunities ſhould be granted, and diſtinctions conferred on thoſe, who become chriſtians.

Slaves in chriſtian countries, though unprepared by education to comprehend the myſteries of religion, will be found, it is hoped, ſufficiently elightened by that divine intelligence which God has infuſed into all men to diſtinguiſh between good and evil, and to receive benefit, at all ages, from inſtruction. The time is happily arrived, when the experiment will be made by a Miſſionary ſent to Barbadoes by the preſent worthy biſhop of London, whoſe active humanity extends itſelf to this diſtant claſs of his fellow creatures.

When

When it is underſtood "that the ſole "object of the miſſion is the inſtruction "of the adult and the education of the "young, and that the miſſionary is di-"rected to do nothing without the con-"ſent and approbation of the proprie-"tors and managers of plantations," it may be hoped he will experience their hearty concurrence in the means neceſſary to give ſucceſs to the undertaking. His inſtructions will tend to raiſe in negroes a belief of rewards and puniſhments in a future ſtate,—to engage them into the practice of the moral duties,—and to deter them from evil habits,—and to reconcile them to their preſent ſtate.

It is well known that the Methodiſts have much encreaſed by the practice of pſalm and hymn-ſinging. It is an act of devotion, which, when well performed, has the power to calm the ſoul into repoſe, or to exalt it into rapture.—Negroes, in their preſent ſtate, are to be inſtructed and improved more by

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what ſtrikes their ſenſes than by what applies to their reaſon. Many of them have good voices. Moſt of them have a fine ear. I deſire that ſuch of them as are happily poſſeſſed of thoſe faculties may be taught to ſing pſalms.—I wiſh they could be engaged to uſe the following ſtanzas, which were ſent me by a very ingenious Lady, and a devout Chriſtian; who imagines that the ſinging ſuch little pieces in rhyme would cheer and enliven their ſpirits.

See! The Great God ſends forth his Sun
To ripen all the fields of canes:
'Tis juſt as if he ſaid, "Well done
"Good negroes! I'll reward your pains.

And ſo he will:—a little while
We have to labour here below,
And for our honeſt faithful toil
God will his heaven beſtow.—

ANOTHER.

How uſeful is labour, how healthful and good!
It keeps us from miſchief, procures wholeſome food;
It ſaves from much ſickneſs and loathſome diſeaſe
That fall on the idle and pamper'd with eaſe:

Then

Then let us work chearful, nor think it is hard,
That from folly and ſloth we thus are debarr'd.
God, the maſter we ſerve, knows for us what is beſt:
And when life's toils are ended we ſweetly ſhall reſt;
For ev'ry good deed in God's book is recorded.
So faithful good negroes will be ſurely rewarded.

A Grace to be ſung on feſtive days.

Come dear companions, let us ſing
To God our gracious, glorious king:
To him our chearful ſongs we raiſe:
Glory to God on high, and praiſe.—
Hallelujah!

Bleſs the fields we dig and plant!
Lord! ſupply our ev'ry want:
Give our ſouls and bodies food,
And grateful hearts for ev'ry good.
Hallelujah!

I rejoice that in theſe inſtructions very little is neceſſary to be ſaid upon the ſubect of puniſhments. It is an agreeable reflection that the COWSKIN is laid aſide, and now hangs up rather as an inſtrument of terrour than of puniſhment. The *Rod*,* which has been adopted in

* Soon after this mode of correction was introduced, a negro man upon one of my plantations was ordered to be *bunched*. This term is adopted, be-

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its place, doth not maim, lacerate or mark: and yet the diſgrace and ſmarting, which it inflicts, is certainly an adequate puniſhment for common offences. This rod of correction is a ſingle twig of the ſize of a Gooſe's Quill and about thirty inches long. The ſtroke is not laid on with an uplifted hand to encreaſe its force, but given with a quick motion of the wriſt, which ſmarts, but does not wound. Such a feeble inſtrument may ſurely be committed to the diſcretion of a manager without ſubjecting the proprietor to the charge of an unfeeling delegation of arbitrary power. It is uſed to puniſh acts of thieving,— drunkenneſs,— quarrelling, miſbehaviour to ſuperiours and to each

cauſe although only a ſingle rod is uſed at a time, the driver generally carries ten or twelve tied up in a bunch. The culprit, upon hearing the ſentence, ſaid "Maſſa, I know I deſerve to be pu-"niſhed and if you will puniſh me, I pray you, "Maſſa, to flog me *like a man*, don't whip me *like a child*.

other

other, and thoſe ſmaller offences, which negroes are prone to commit. Great offences are cognizable by the magiſtrate, and the mode of proceeding is preſcribed by the law. But caſes often ariſe, unnoticed by the written laws, and not within the cognizance of the magiſtrate, yet dangerous, in their nature and conſequences, to the good order and government, which ought to be maintained upon every plantation.—

In any ſuch caſe, if the magnitude of the offence deſerves exemplary puniſhment, it would be wiſe to direct the delinquent to be tried by *a jury of his peers*. It is much to be regretted that this mode of proceeding is ſo little practiced. The name of a trial excites expectation and conſequently attention. The proceſs, however ſhort, would afford an opportunity to explain the nature and tendency of the crime;—and it is hoped ſome good would be produced by ſuch obſervations from the maſter or the manager

nager as might ariſe out of the caſe. I will here cite two caſes which occurred at two different periods, when I viſited Barbaboes.

In the year 1781 I went to that country after a very long abſence: ſoon after my arrival a negro, much addicted to running away, and who had abſented himſelf for a conſiderable time, was apprehended. I thought this a good occaſion to introduce the mode of trial by a jury. I accordingly ſelected four from each of my plantations, who compoſed a Jury of twelve men. A foreman was named, and a ſhort charge was delivered to explain to them the nature of the the offence.‡ The accuſation was fully proved by the witneſſes produced. The jury were inſtructed, that if they found the priſoner guilty of the offence, with which he was charged, they had the

‡ I cite this caſe, that my Engliſh reader may know, that the trial of ſlaves by a jury of their peers was in practice at Barbadoes at leaſt ſixteen years ago.

power

power to diſmiſs him with a reprimand, or to ſenteuce him either to be confined or to receive corporal puniſhment. They were left together for conſultation. They ſoon agreed upon their verdict, — in which they were unanimous that he deſerved to be flogged. — The mode of executing the ſentence was as follows. The jurors ranged themſelves in a line. The foreman, who held the whip, gave the *runaway* one ſtroke. He then delivered the whip to the ſecond juryman; who, after giving the ſtroke, delivered it to the third; and in this manner was the ſentence executed by each and every one of the jury. When the laſt juryman had performed his part of the painful office, the foreman called out that he and his fellow jurors agreed in opinion, that the culprit deſerved another round of ſtripes. A ſecond dozen was permitted to be given, as the firſt had made but little impreſſion on his body and leſs upon his mind. The jury had conceived ſuch a degree of indignation againſt the

the hardened offender, that they would have executed a third dozen upon him, if I had not interfered, and whiſpered the foreman, that a reprimand from him, delivered upon ſo publick an occaſion, would have a better effect to diſcourage the practice of running away than an encreaſe of the puniſhment. The explanation of the nature of the trangreſſion given by the foreman in his reprimand might have been deemed coarſe to an elegant ear; but it was juſt and *forcible*.

This temper and diſpoſition of the *Btack Jury*, manifeſted ſixteen years ago, proves how juſtly and ſenſibly Mr. Francis argued in his ſpeech in the houſe of commons upon the ſlave-trade the 11th of April 1796.—

Though his eloquence and clear reaſoning did not prevail on that day, I truſt that much of what he then delivered will have its proper effect, when the ſubject ſhall be diſcuſſed with a view to produce

produce an equitable deciſion upon the juſt rights and the true intereſt of both the planter and the ſlave, united as they are,—a deciſion, in which juſtice and policy ſhall appear to be reconciled.

The other caſe is that of a young man, one of my domeſticks, who had conceived a paſſion for Monemia, the wife of his friend.— For the black and the fair, ſlaves as well as nobles, claim an equal privilege to act the brute in the indulgence of their luſts. The great may magnify the ſcandal but they cannot confine the enjoyment of ſenſual gratification to rank or ſtation. When thoſe reſtraints are thrown off, which honour, decency, morality and religion impoſe upon ſociety, men are levelled in what is moſt valuable to man and to woman. They arelevelled in character—and ſink to a level with the brute. The brute indeed has the advantage. "The luſty "bull, ſingling from the herd his female

out

"out, enjoys her and abandons her at "will" without feeling remorſe, or incurring reproach. But man, moſt conſcious when moſt criminal, has no power over himſelf to ſuppreſs the upbraiding pang,— no power over the world to repel the diſgrace attached to baſeneſs.

Polydore* enflamed like the brute, in the abſence of the huſband, ſtole unheeded to the bed of Monimia, and made a declaration of his paſſion with ſuch warmth as alarmed her virtue and excited her indignation. Rejected and deſpiſed he was turned out of the houſe.—

When I was made acquainted with this indecorous conduct of a domeſtick, my firſt intention was to have directed him to be tried by a ſelect jury of his peers. But in order to mark and expoſe the magnitude of the offence, I determined to obtain a more ſolemn deciſion.

*Polydore and Monimia are names common among the negroes.

A day had been appointed by the Rector of the parish *to baptize some of the plantation negroes*.† To make it a day of festivity I had engaged a few neighbours to dine with me. Among them were two respectacle magistrates. After the more solemn business of the day had been performed, the parties were called upon to appear. On behalf of the prosecutrix, I stated such facts and circumstances as appeared to me necessary to be laid before the magistrates. Monimia was then desired to proceed in support of her complaint.— She delivered a clear and circumstantial evidence. And although sometimes abashed by the questions, which in such a case it was necessary to put, in order to establish the facts, upon which conviction must be founded, this woman in her cross-examination stampt credibility upon her evidence by the simple and *unembarrassed* manner of detailing her story.—

† Baptism is frequently administered to negroes at Barbadoes.

Polydore now entered into his defence. He had no witneſs,—no fact to produce to account for his midnight intruſion.—A poſitive denial of any intention to diſhonour the bed of his friend—(villains ſcruple not to lie) was all he had to offer in his juſtification.

After ſome conſultation, in which it was endeavoured to reconcile and blend local policy and moral juſtice, the magiſtrates adjudged Polydore to be guilty of the charge;—and ſentenced him "to "be kept in cloſe confinement for fifteen "days,—to be fed upon bread and "water,—and to receive ſuch a num-"ber of laſhes, not exceeding one dozen, "as the huſband ſhould direct to be "given." The firſt part of the ſentence was enforced. But upon the culprit's expreſſing his contrition, and making a ſubmiſſion, the huſband remitted the latter.

This trial afforded an opportunity of

 explaining

explaining to a numerous audience, who attended it, the criminality of the offence,— the ſacred nature and the advantages of marriage and the duties of parents to children.

It is certain the laws of England do not allow that the ſame perſons ſhould be jurors and judges. "The ſpirit and cau-"tion of our penal laws have in all cri-"minal proceedings taken care to ſe-"parate the intereſt from the judgment, "and the judgment from the execution." But I ſee no incongruity or danger in committing to his peers the power of trying, judging and puniſhing a ſlave; provided the ſentence be ſubject to be moderated or reverſed by the maſter or manager. — The ſelection of impartial perſons to enquire into the nature of the offence removes from a harſh ſuperiour the arbitrary exerciſe of his power, if he be diſpoſed to abuſe it. It alſo relieves a benevolent maſter from the odium of ſeverity, if the caſe requires exemplary puniſhment.

puniſhment. The diſcretionary power of moderating the ſentence muſt be veſted in the proprietor or manager. Negroes, who as yet have no written law, no adjudged caſes to direct their proceedings in criminal matters, may ſometimes be influenced more by their feelings than by the rules of juſtice.— Until the Legiſlature of Barbadoes ſhall enact ſuch a code of laws for the government and treatment of ſlaves as may ſuit the circumſtances of the times, I deſire that the practice of trying offenders by juries may be obſerved, whenever it ſhall appear to you that the caſe requires a trial.

The repairs of the habitations of negroes require the conſtant attention of the manager. When a negro deſires to build a new houſe, let it be a ſtanding rule of the plantation, that he ſhall firſt ſignify his intention to the manager; who muſt take care that the houſe be ſo ſituated, as to preſerve the line, and

range with the other houſes. No houſe need be wider than ten feet. The houſes of the inferiour negroes need not be more than eight or nine feet wide.— To every negro, who builds a new houſe, I direct that two pair of ſtrong deal rafters, a ridge-pole, and four hard-wood poſts be given. The rafters ſhould be three fourths as long as the houſe is wide: for houſes ten feet wide, they ſhould be ſeven feet and a half long. My intention in giving rafters is not only to afford aſſiſtance to the negroes in the undertaking, but to have the roofs of all the houſes of the ſame pitch, as nearly as may be. It muſt be left to your judgment and diſcretion what further aſſiſtance it may be proper to give to the perſon, who deſires to erect or rebuild a houſe. The aſſiſtance ſhould be proportioned to the inability of the negro. Upon the marriage of a young couple, who have not parents to aſſiſt them in their eſtabliſhment, I deſire you will not only aſſign them a lot of ground,

ground, but that you will have their houſe built altogether at my expence;— and that you will furniſh the new married pair with all the conveniencies, neceſſary for their comfortable lodging; with a corn-ſtone, a water-jar, an iron pot;— and alſo with a young ſow or a female kid.—

The proportion of garden ground to each negro-houſe ſhould be a ſquare of about eighty feet, beſides the quantity allotted to the proprietor of the houſe, in the proviſion field, aſſigned to the negroes. In that field his lot ſhould not be circumſcribed. Leave it to himſelf to mark out what he thinks he can cultivate. I have never found negroes unreaſonable in the quantity they have taken. If any perſon neglects the cultivation of what he has marked out, it will be your buſineſs to reduce the ſize of his lot to the degree of his induſtry.

I fear this will not fully ſatisfy Mr. Francis

Francis; who thinks that the ſlaves ſhould have property in the ſoil. As rights, which are held at diſcretion, may be capriciouſly reſumed, he propoſes that the negro ſhould hold what is aſſigned to him by ſome legal tenure;— ſubject however to forfeiture.— When ſuch a law ſhall be framed as will ſecure to ſlaves their juſt rights, and an adequate compenſation for their ſervices without giving them *a dangerous independency*, it ſhall have my hearty approbation.— In the mean time I conſider my ſlaves, each poſſeſſor, as tenant for life of the land and houſe he now holds, with remainder to his heirs; and I believe he is as well ſatisfied that the ſecure enjoyment of his houſe and land will be continued to him, to his children and collaterals in ſucceſſion, as if they were confirmed to him by an act of Parliament.‖ It is certain that many families

‖ The regulation upon my plantations has been, and it will be invariably continued, to allow a ſquare of 60 or 80 feet to each houſe according to the

families upon my plantations might plead againſt me the Engliſh Statute of limitations, if I was diſpoſed to diſpoſſeſs them of what they deem their property.

I have declined for the preſent to enquire into the cauſes of that decreaſe in negroes, which ſometimes happens upon plantatations, where no ſeverity or oppreſſion is practiced;—where even a degree of care and concern is manifeſted. Obſervations that are unpleaſing are in general unavailing. I cannot, however, neglect to ſtate, that it is the eſtabliſhed opinion of the beſt writers upon population that the human ſpecies will encreaſe abundantly in all countries, where no circumſtances exiſt, and where

the ſituation of the ground. This is attached to the tenement—is conſidered as heriditary property,—and deſcends, as the more conſiderable eſtates of their ſuperiours do.—Beſides this ſpot of ground, a field is ſet apart in which each negro is allowed to mark out his lot to any extent, which he thinks he and his family are capable of cultivating.

no cauſes prevail to counteract the laws of nature.

Hume's eſſays are in the hands of every man, who reads. This able writer ſays that "almoſt every man, who "thinks he can maintain a family, "will have one. And the human ſpe- "cies, at this rate of propagation, would "more than double every generation, "were every one coupled as ſoon as he "came to the age of purberty" He directs us to obſerve "how faſt mankind "multiply in every colony, where it is "eaſy to provide for a family, and "where men *are not ſtraitened*:" that is to ſay, where men live in eaſe and plenty:—or in terms more applicable to the preſent ſubject, where men are moderately worked, plentifully fed, and kindly treated.

Hume further obſerves, "that in coun- "tries, where plagues have ſwept away "the third or the fourth part of the "people, in a generation or two the "deſtruction

"deſtruction was not perceived." He ſeems to intend to account for the quick ſucceeding increaſe by adding, "that "every *wiſe*, *juſt* and *mild* government, "by rendering the condition of its ſub-"jects eaſy and ſecure, will always "abound moſt in people.*

Such

* Polygamy, which is not prohibited among negroes, is ſuppoſed to be the great cauſe, that they do not increaſe. It is ſo little practiced upon my plantations, that I do not believe it prevails ſo generally in Barbadoes as ſome people repreſent. The *early* and *promiſcuous* commerce between the ſexes is, in my opinion, the great enemy to propagation. Would it were better underſtood, that from the chaſte and temperate uſe of marriage muſt proceed a ſtronger and more long-lived race than from the indulgence of lawleſs appetite. It was an obſervation made to me by a very ſenſible friend "that the very cultivation of the fields give "here a leſſon, modeſt and pure. When the earth "is prepared and ploughed, and the ſeed, at the "proper ſeaſon, is caſt into the furrows, if it be "ploughed over and over again, would the ſeed "thus, diſturbed in its germination ſtrike root deep-"ly, or would it vegetate at all? If ſowed with "*different ſeeds*, inimical to each other, how weak "and mingled would be the produce! Let the

divine

Such authority and other writers, who might be quoted, will juſtify me in aſſerting that a *wiſe* and *mild* treatment of negroes, by rendering their condition eaſy and ſatisfactory, will enſure an increaſe of them upon *all plantations* in Barbadoes. The treatment and management of them muſt be not only *mild* but *wiſe*. There muſt be judgment in giving and in withholding; in acting and in forbearing. The exerciſe of this judgment muſt be the reſult of obſervation and reflection.‡

"divine command be carefully obſerved as well "in your care of the women as of the ſoil, *Sow* "*not thy land with divers ſeeds.*"

‡ The following extract from my plantation book will juſtify the above aſſertion. This extract ſhews that the natural increaſe of the negroes upon two of my plantations, contiguous to each other, and under the management of the ſame perſon, without any addition by purchaſe, was Two upon the number of 305, in a period of four years.—Viz.

In January	1772 the number was - - -	305
	1773 - - - - - - - - -	303
	1774 - - - - - - - - -	301
	1775 - - - - - - - - -	313
	1776 - - - - - - - - -	307

To

To thoſe, who have been unaccuſtomed to ſpeculative inquiries, and who have neglected to examine the queſtion, *whether man has a right to hold and to uſe his fellow creatures as his property* I recommend a ſerious inveſtigation of the ſubject. Such will find the inquiry profitable.— They, who hold ſlaves upon a conſcientious conviction of a right over their perſons, will ſenſibly feel the force of thoſe arguments, which will occur to bind them to make their ſlaves the objects of their tendereſt concern.

It is worth remarking that during this period of four years, when there was an increaſe of two negroes upon the original ſtock, the crop of each year was large: and that, in 1774, when the crop was the largeſt, the births were the more numerous, and the deaths fewer than in any other year.

The births in that year were thirteen, and the deaths two.— The two, who died, were infants.

CONCLUSION.

CONCLUSION.

In the introduction prefixed to thefe inſtructions I have ſaid they were contained in a ſeries of letters, written twenty years ago. Copies, which I have preſerved of a few of thoſe letters, ſupply me with extracts to prove the attention, which has always been paid to the comforts and preſervation of ſlaves at Barbadoes.

Extract of a letter to Mr. Jacob Lewis The Manager of Spring-Head plantation.

September——1771.

I depend upon you to compleat, without delay, ſuch water-ciſterns and wells as may be neceſſary to preſerve the negroes from the inconvenience they may ſuffer from the want o wholeſome water to drink, and to ſave the poor ſlaves from the labour of ſupplying the boiling-houſe with water late in the evening. My mind would be painfully

painfully affected by the reflection, that I derive all my enjoyments HERE* from means, which make thoſe human creatures miſerable, who have been placed under my immediate care and protection. Let me then beſeech you to build ciſterns and ſink wells, without regard to expence, both at Spring-Head and Taitts, ſo that the negroes may be preſerved and my mind made eaſy. I know the labour it will coſt to do all this; but as I know that no labour is miſapplied under your direction I will never complain of what may be employed to compleat, with expedition, the things I have directed.—

I cannot draw off my attention from this ſubject without recommending one thing more to you. It is to examine how the poorer ſort of negroes are lodged. Beſides the attending apothecary, a ſkilful medical man, and a white nurſe are placed upon Spring-Head to take care of the negroes. It is more

* In England.

eaſy to preſerve health than to cure diſeaſes. It ſhould therefore be the buſineſs of theſe two perſons to ſee how every individual negro is lodged, and to make their report regularly to you.

To Mr. Jacob Lewis.

January 15, 1773.

It is painful to turn to that part of your letter, which tells me that Bedford is dead, and that you have loſt ſeveral of the young people. For the loſs of Bedford I feel that common concern, which muſt naturally ariſe in a benevolent breaſt, upon the death of a perſon in any ſenſe or in any degree valuable to us. But my humanity is particularly affected by the deaths of young people. I am ſure you and your wife will excuſe me, if I repeat my former requeſt, that you will be particularly attentive to the preſervation of the children.

To

To Mr. Jacob Lewis.

February 18, 1775.

If the Americans perſiſt in their reſolutions not to export proviſions, you can judge, as well as myſelf, to what diſtreſs our little country will be reduced. The notice the Americans have given is ſufficient to enable you to provide againſt a famine, to which (in caſe they withhold ſupplies) the iſland will be expoſed, unleſs a plan for raiſing proviſions be immediately and generally adopted. In a matter of ſuch importance, when the moſt valuable part of my property is the object of conſideration, you muſt allow me to judge, to decide and to direct.—And I do now direct, that you ſhould immediately adopt and purſue ſuch a plan of management as will produce a ſufficient quantity of proviſions to feed my negroes, independent of foreign ſupplies. I will ſend you oats and beans from England; and I will encreaſe the ſupplies from Ireland. I hope

hope when you execute this plan, you will be able to plant one hundred and forty acres of canes. But if it be neceſſary to reduce the annual crop of canes below that number of acres, in order to produce the neceſſary quantity of proviſions for the maintenance of the negroes, I ſhall be content to have you do ſo.—Whatever loſs I may ſuſtain, it will be balanced in my mind by the conſciouſneſs of conſulting the preſervation of my people."

I beg it may be remembered theſe ſentiments were entertained and theſe inſtructions given, long before Ramſay wrote, or Wilberforce ſpoke.

The following pieces were written by a Lady.

THE NEGRO'S ADDRESS TO HIS FELLOWS.

We're children of *Cham! He his father offended,
Who gave him the curſe, which to us is deſcended.
"A ſervant of ſervants" alas! is our curſe;
And bad as it is, it has ſav'd us from worſe.
For, *Maſter of Maſters*, ſay friends are we fitted?
Our paſſions unbridled.— Our ſelf-will unbitted.
In our own country free, we Savages ran;
And negro made war on his brother *Black Man*.
To thoſe ta'en in battle no mercy we gave:
Each pris'ner was murther'd or ſold for a ſlave.
So that if to White Men now ſlaves you behold them,
White Men had not bought, if *Black Men* had not
[ſold them.
Nay, were we more happy, or felt we leſs evil,
When ſnakes were our Gods, and we worſhip'd the
[devil?
A ſervant of ſervants much more were we then:
We labour'd for devils.— We now work for men.
A bleſſed exchange we may make, if we chuſe,
The knowledge of God for the freedom we loſe:
A far better freedom that knowledge ſhall give,
And children of God we, Cham's children, ſhall live.
Belov'd by our maſters, kindly treated, eſteemed,
And, in God's own due time, from Cham's curſe
[quite redeem'd

* Ham, the ſon of Noah, from whom the negroes are deſcended, is written Cham in the Hebrew.

Mean time ev'ry ſlave, who his duty doth here,
Shall receive his reward when God ſhall appear
To take away evil, and ſickneſs and pain:
And find that his labour hath not been in vain.
If we ſuffer with Chriſt, with him we ſhall reign;
For he came a ſervant, to death was obedient
To crucify pride THUS he found it expedient. ——

A Grace after Meat,

God loves a thankful heart:—and we
Have nothing more to give.
Firſt, Lord, we ſing our thanks to thee
For all that we receive.

Our maſter too for this day's feaſt
We thank with chearful voice:
Give us to ſee him, Lord, thy gueſt,
And in his good rejoice.

THE END.

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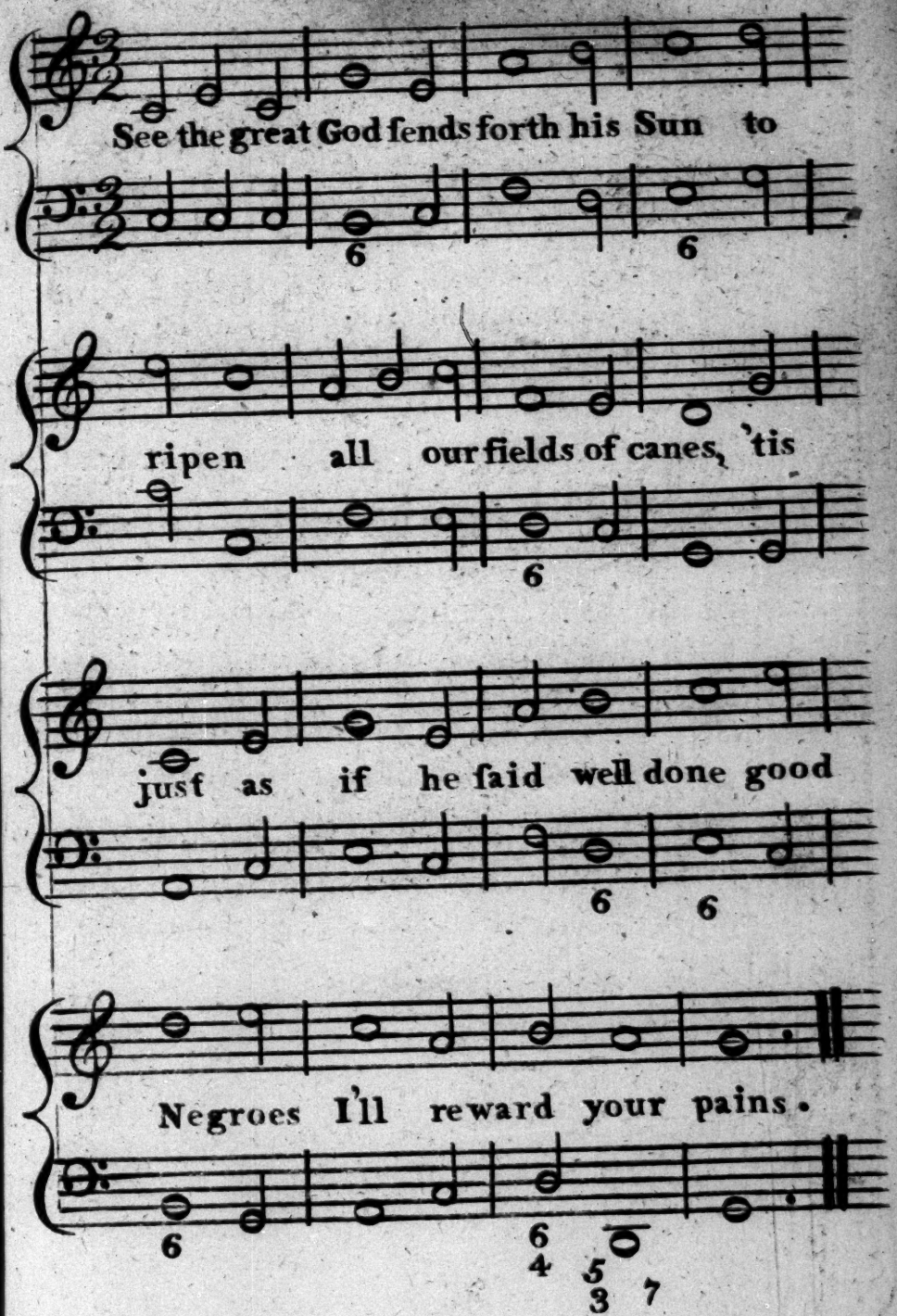
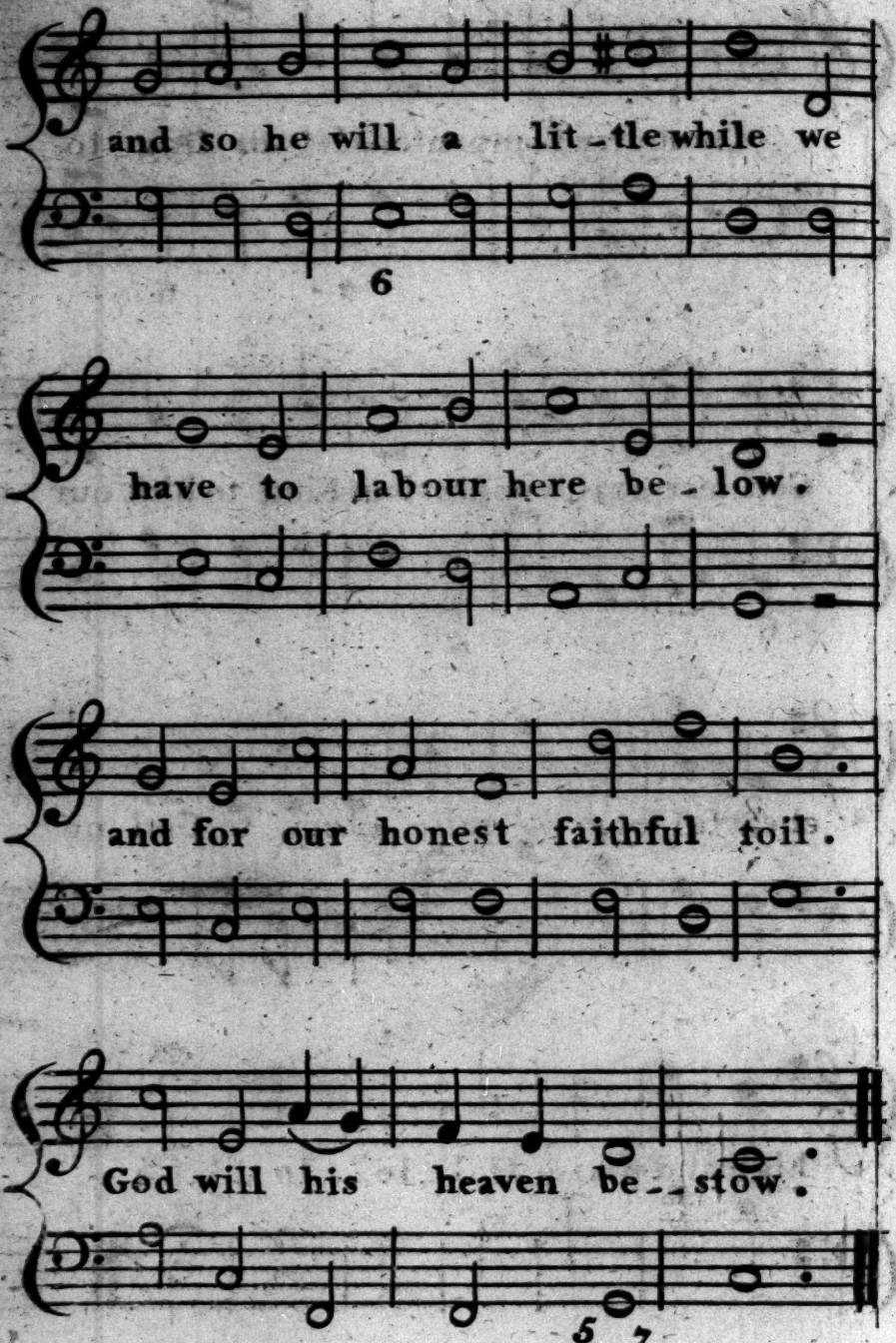
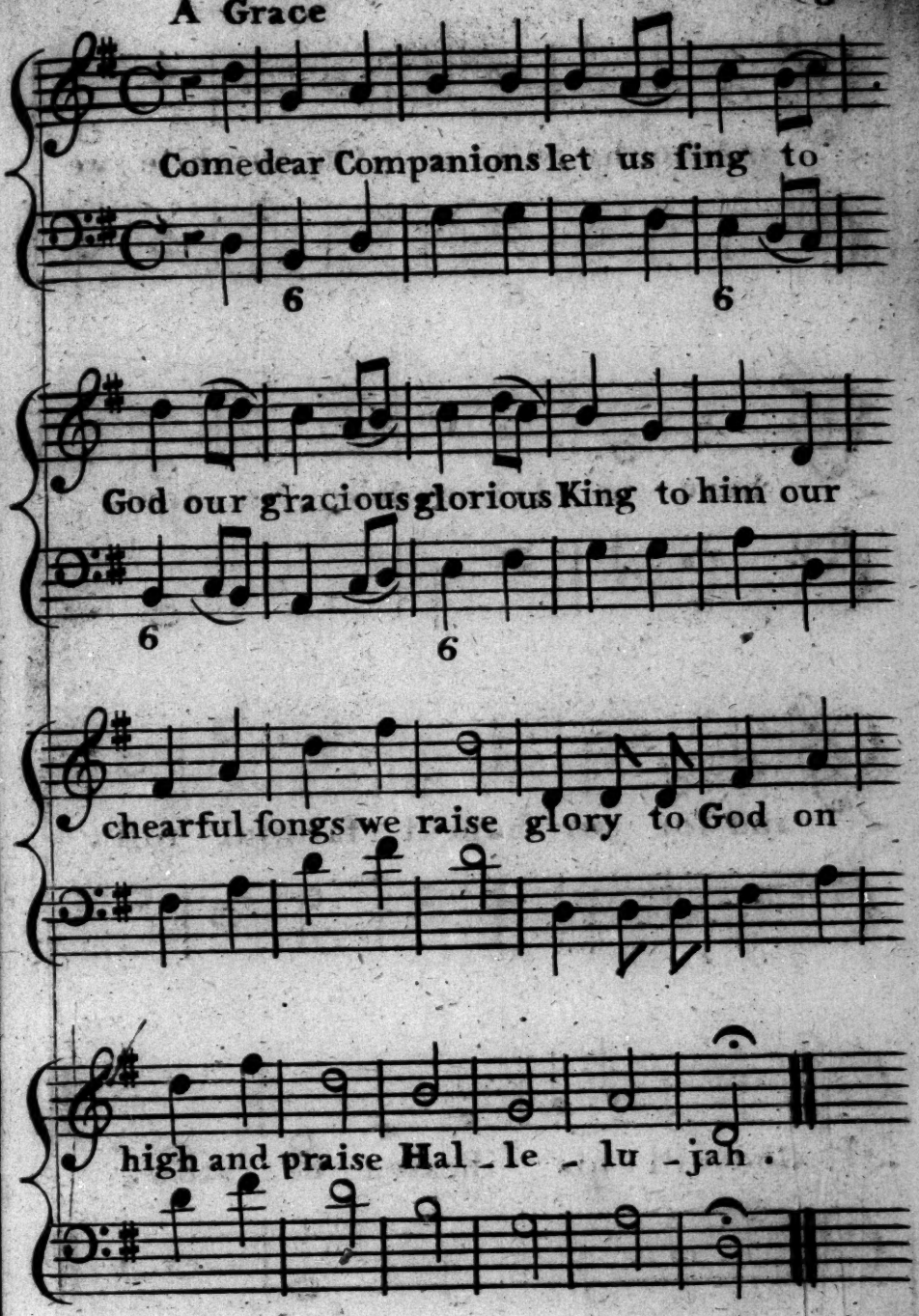
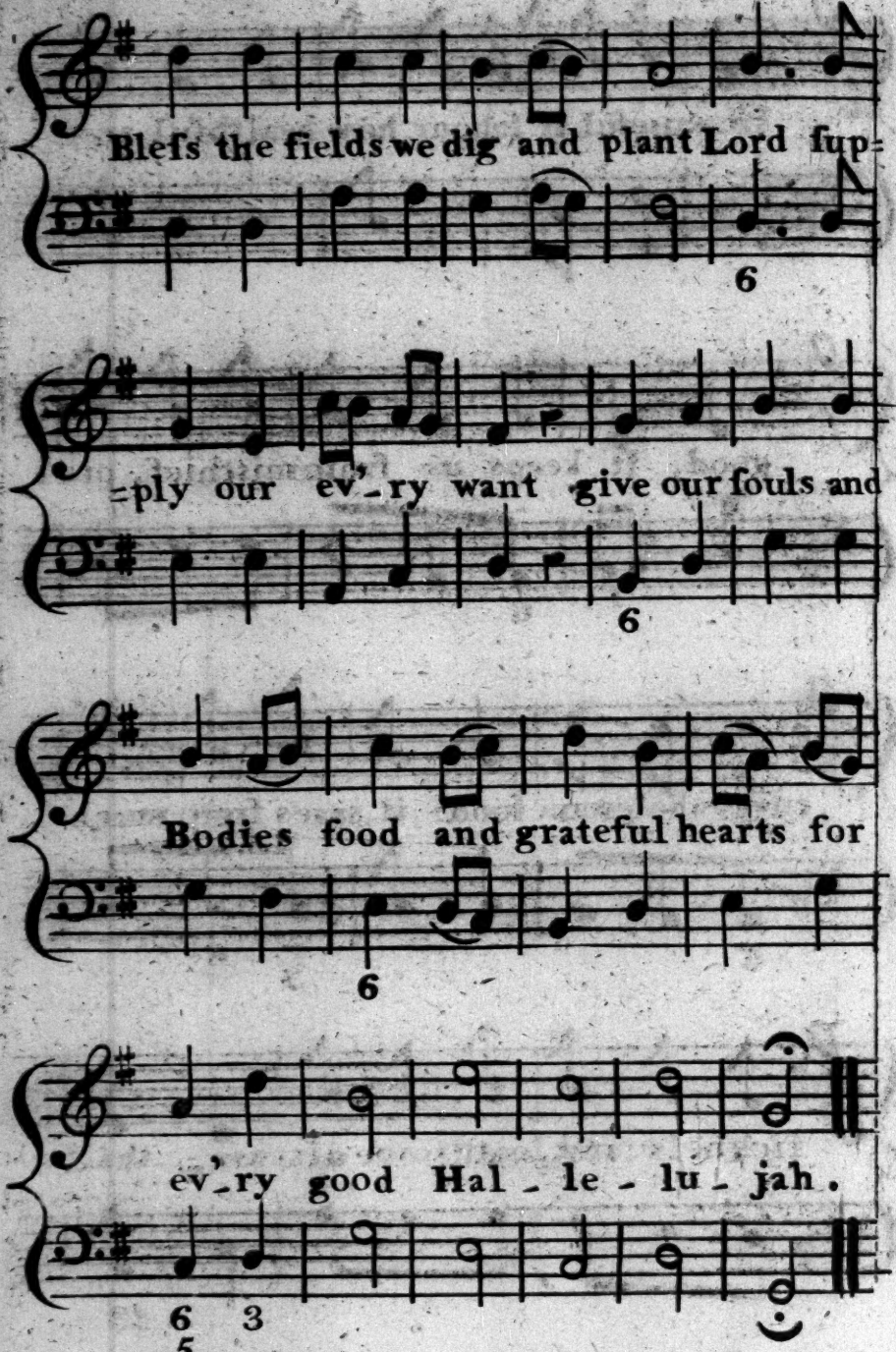

See the great God ſends forth his Sun to
ripen all our fields of canes, 'tis
juſt as if he ſaid well done good
Negroes I'll reward your pains.

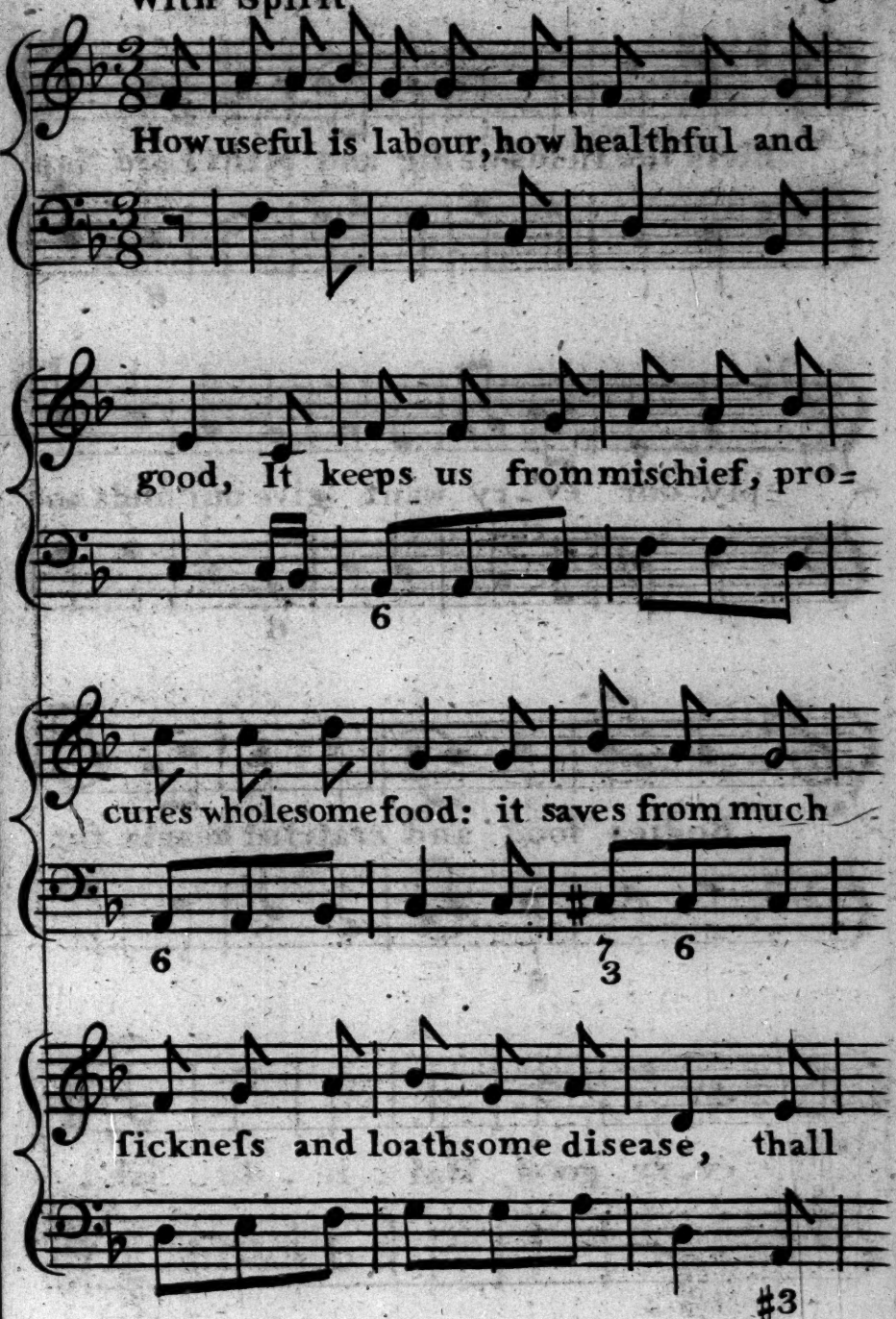

and so he will a lit-tle while we
6
have to labour here be-low.
and for our honest faithful toil.
God will his heaven be-stow.
5
4
3
7

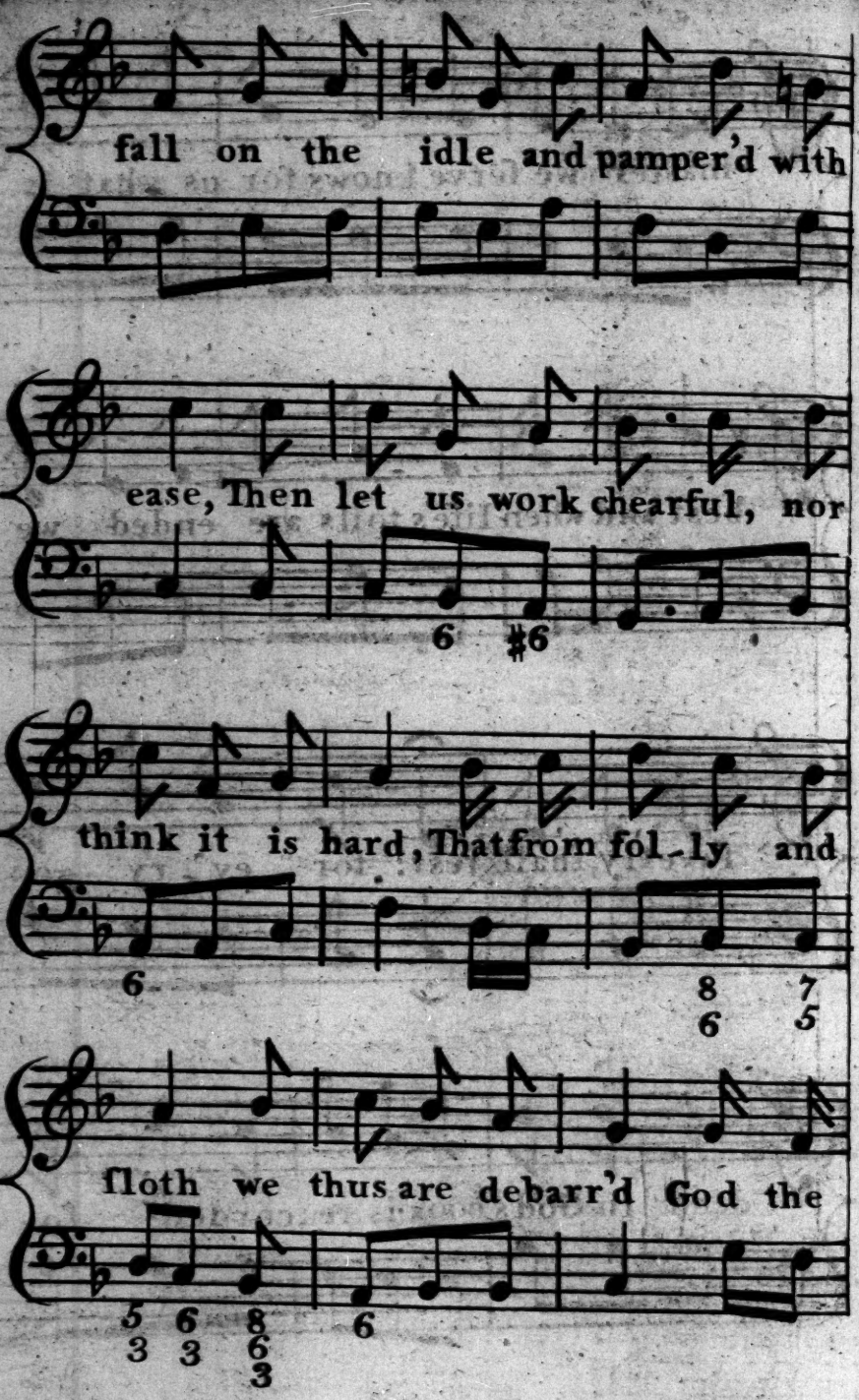
A Grace

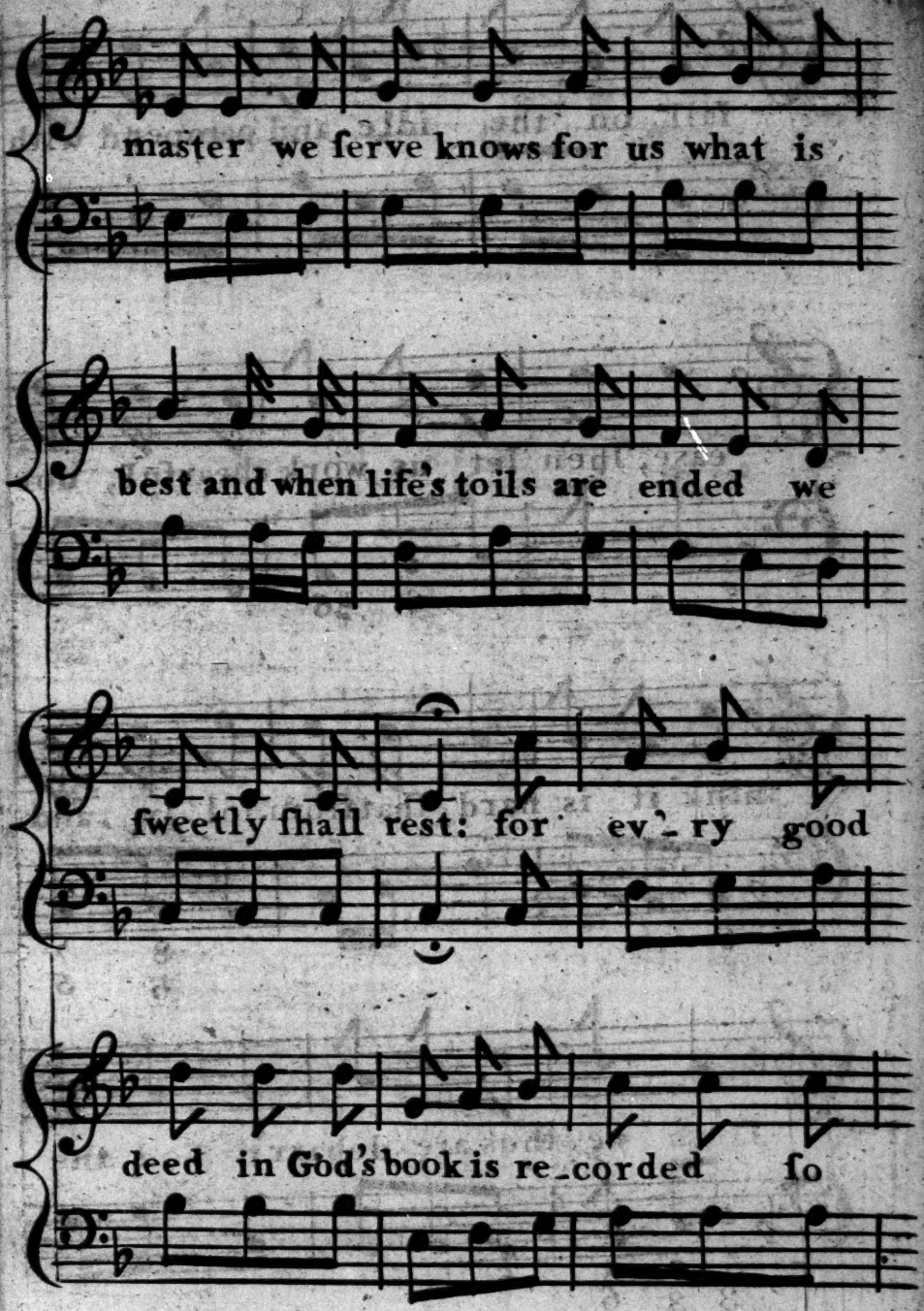

Come dear Companions let us ſing to
God our gracious glorious King to him our
chearful ſongs we raise glory to God on
high and praiſe Hal - le - lu - jah .

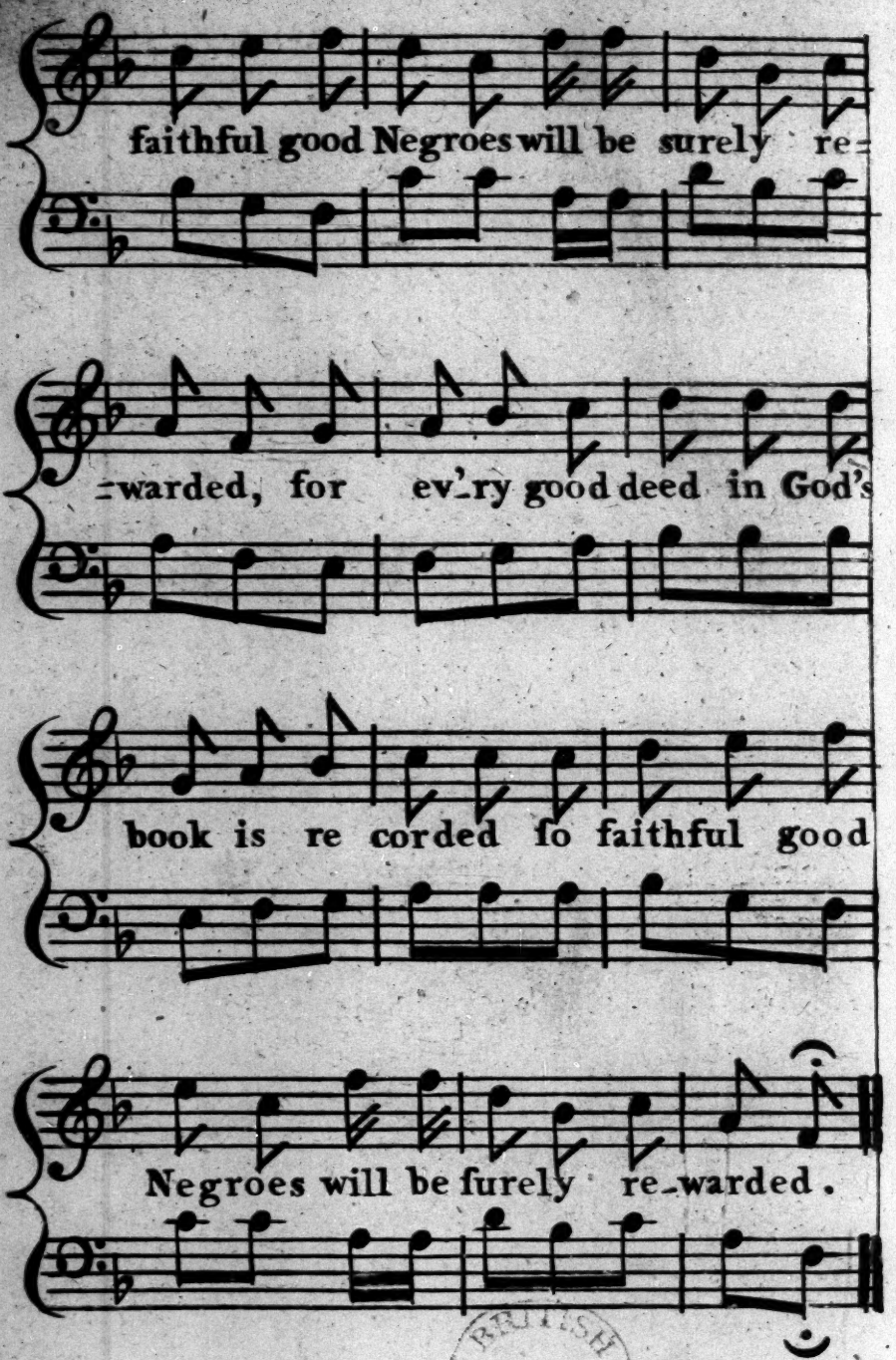

Bleſs the fields we dig and plant Lord ſup=
=ply our ev'_ry want give our ſouls and
Bodies food and grateful hearts for
ev'_ry good Hal_le_lu_jah.

With Spirit


How useful is labour, how healthful and
good, It keeps us from mischief, pro=
6
cures wholesome food: it saves from much
6
7 6
3
ficknefs and loathsome disease, thall
#3


fall on the idle and pamper'd with
ease, Then let us work chearful, nor
think it is hard, That from fol-ly and
floth we thus are debarr'd God the


master we ſerve knows for us what is
best and when life's toils are ended we
ſweetly ſhall rest: for ev'-ry good
deed in God's book is re-corded ſo



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